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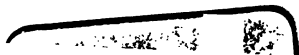
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OF THE

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INTRODUCTION.



The present edition of some of the writings of the Society of Friends, being intended for the use of those not Members, as well as for the Society at large, and their young people in particular. It is introduced by that short sketch of its History, Doctrines, and principles, entitled "a Summary," published by the authority of the Society ; and is followed by a farther statement of its views, respecting some of the most fundamental doctrines of christianity, and also those points relative to silent worship, and the ministry, in which Friends differ from most other professors ; with a few remarks for the consideration of those who may be concerned in the important business of education.

It is not intended always to publish entire Journals of the lives of Friends, but rather extracts from them, of parts more particularly interesting, and occasionally they may be accompanied with notes and observations, by

THE EDITOR.



A
SUMMARY
OF THE
HISTORY, DOCTRINE, AND DISCIPLINE,
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.



CHAPTER I.

History.

Sketch of the rise of the Society.—George Fox.—Persecution and Sufferings.—Relief by the Toleration Act and other Laws.—Ireland.—United States of America.

The beginning of the seventeenth century is known to have been, in England, a time of great dissention respecting religion. Many pious persons had been dissatisfied with the settlement of the Church of England in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Various societies of Dissenters had accordingly arisen; some of whom evinced their sincerity by grievous sufferings, under the intolerance of those who governed church affairs.* But these societies, notwithstanding their honest zeal, seem

* Sewel, p. 5, 6. edit. 1722.

to have stopped short in their progress towards a complete reformation;* and, degenerating into formality, to have left their most enlightened members still to lament the want of something more instructive, and consolatory to the soul, than the most rigorous observance of their ordinances had ever produced. Thus, dissatisfied and disconsolate, they were ready to follow any teacher, who seemed able to direct them to that light and peace of which they felt the need. Many such in succession engaged their attention; until, finding the insufficiency of them all, they withdrew from the communion of every visible church; and dwelt retired, and attentive to the inward state of their own minds: often deeply distressed for the want of that true knowledge of God, which they saw to be necessary for salvation, and for which, according to their ability, they fervently prayed. These sincere breathings of spirit being answered by the extension of some degree of heavenly consolation, they became convinced, that as the heart of man is the scene of the tempter's attacks, it must also be that of the Redeemer's victory. With renewed fervency, therefore, they sought his appearance in their minds; and thus, being renewedly furnished with his saving light and help, they not only became instructed in the things pertaining to their own salvation; but they discovered many practices in the world, which have a show of religion, to be nevertheless the effect of the unsub-

* *Penn*, vol. 5. p. 211, 212, edit. 1782.

jected will of man, and inconsistent with the genuine simplicity of the truth.

These people were at first hidden from each other, and each probably conceived his own heart to be the single repository of a discovery so important; but it did not consist with divine goodness, that the candle thus lighted should always remain under the bed, or the bushel. Our honourable elder George Fox, who had signally experienced the afflicting dispensations which we have described, and had also been quickened by the immediate touches of divine love, could not satisfy his apprehensions of duty to God, without bearing public testimony against the common modes of worship, and directing the people where to find the like consolation and instruction.* As he travelled in this service, he met with divers of those seeking persons who had been exercised in a similar manner; these readily received his testimony; several of them also became preachers of the same doctrine; multitudes were convinced of the reality of this inward manifestation;† and many meetings were settled.

Those who attempt to detach the people from the teachings of men, must expect for their enemies those men who make a gain of teaching. Such was the lot of our first Friends: and laws, made either in the times of popery, or since the Reformation against non-conformists, served as the means of gratifying the jealousy of the priests, and the

* *Fox's Journal*. p. 14, 15, 21. edit. 1765. † 1 Cor. xii. 7

intolerance of the magistrates. Indeed, at the time Friends first attracted public notice, legal pretences were not always thought necessary to justify the abuse which they suffered. It was during the time of the Commonwealth, when opposition to a national ministry which was supposed to be peculiarly reformed, was deemed an offence of no small import. Much personal abuse was accordingly bestowed;* imprisonment was common, and corporal punishment frequent. Imprisonment was often rendered more severe and disgusting by the cruelty of particular magistrates, and from the numbers which were confined together; and stripes, under pretence of vagrancy, were inflicted without regard to sex, and on persons of unimpeached character, and of good circumstances in the world.†

George Fox was one of the first of our Friends who were imprisoned. He was confined at Nottingham in the year 1649, for having publicly opposed a preacher, on a point of doctrine;‡ and in the following year, being brought before two justices in Derbyshire,§ one of them, scoffing at George Fox, for having bidden him, and those about him, to tremble at the word of the Lord, gave to our predecessors the name of *Quakers*;|| an appellation which soon became and hath remained our most usual denomination; but they

* Fox, 26. Besse's *Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, ch. 6, and 29. and *passim*. † Besse, *pref.* and *passim*.
‡ Fox, 24. § Ibid. 29. || Sewel, 25.

themselves adopted, and have transmitted to us, the endearing appellation of *Friends*.

Although Oliver Cromwell did not employ his authority to put a stop to persecution, it doth not appear that he was inclined to promote it. He gave several of our Friends access to him; and once in particular, when George Fox had been brought to him as a prisoner,* he released him after a considerable time spent in conference: on which occasion he confessed that our Friends were "a people risen up that he could not win, either with gifts, honours, offices, or places."†

Persecution however continued; but when Charles II. on the prospect of his restoration, issued from Breda, amongst other things, his declaration for liberty of conscience, it might well have been expected that Friends would be permitted to exercise their religion without molestation. Yet during this reign they not only were harassed with the oath of allegiance, which, in common with all oaths they scrupled to take, and by which they often incurred tedious imprisonment, and not unfrequently premunire; but new laws‡ were made, by which even their meetings for worship subjected them to punishment.

The king, as a branch of the legislature, joined in the enacting of these laws; nevertheless he did not seem in all cases to countenance severity; for in an instance wherein he acted independently of

* Sewel, 98. † Ibid. 99. ‡ 16 Car. II. chap. 4.
22 Car. II. cap. 1. also 13 & 14 Car. II. cap. 1.

the parliament, he was the means of affording relief in the most sanguinary persecution which our Friends ever experienced. This was in New-England, where it was made penal for a friend even to reside.

The first Friends* who arrived at Boston were women. These were imprisoned, and otherwise cruelly treated. The date of this transaction is 1656. The following year the scourge was employed, and a woman† is also recorded to have been the first who suffered stripes. She was the wife of a tradesman in London, and had made a voyage to Boston, to warn the people against persecution. Great numbers underwent this punishment ; but stripes proving insufficient to deter our Friends from the exercise of their religious duty, in going to such places, and performing such services, as they believed to be required by the divine will ; it was next attempted to discourage them by a law‡ for cutting off their ears. This was executed in vain ; and accordingly the intolerance of the persons in power produced another, which subjected Friends to banishment on pain of death.¶ Their constancy, however, was not thus to be shaken, and four Friends, amongst whom also was a woman, were hanged at Boston.§

In this extremity, Samuel Shattock,§§ a Friend who had been banished under the last mentioned law, came to England ; and application being made

* Sewel, 160. † Ibid, 172. ‡ Ibid. 194. 198.
 // Ibid. 199. § Ibid, 226 to 235, 276. §§ Ibid, 280, 281.

to the king by Edward Burrough, who was admitted to a personal audience, Charles granted his mandamus (dated 9th September, 1661) to stop the severities in New-England; and appointed Samuel Shattock his deputy, to carry it to Boston.

Nor were the good offices of Charles II. confined to our Friends of New-England. Notwithstanding the continuance of persecution in England, the king generally appeared inclinable to grant relief; and frequently received the personal application of George Whitehead* and others, on behalf of their suffering brethren. In 1672,† he released, under the great seal, such Friends, to the number of about four hundred, as were imprisoned on account of refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and some other imputed offences; and the society had a degree of respite from persecution; but not being protected by law, persecutors and informers soon recommenced their oppression, and at the king's decease, about fifteen hundred were in prison, or prisoners.‡

Although the practice of inflicting corporal punishment on Friends, seems in England to have fallen into disuse at the Restoration; yet the reign of Charles II. must be considered as the time of the greatest suffering to our society. The imprisonments were long, often terminating only with the life of the prisoner. In this reign also, the crowds shut up together increased, in many

* *G. Whitehead's Life, passim.* † *Ibid.* p. 353.

‡ *Sewel.* 588. (1684.)

places, the common sufferings of confinement; which, in some, were also augmented by the violent tempers of magistrates, or by the barbarity of gaolers. The fines imposed by the new laws, were exacted with a rigour that generally oppressed the sufferer, and sometimes left him nearly destitute of household goods; and several families experienced a separation of the near connexions of life, by the execution of a law* which subjected our Friends to banishment.

It is well known that James II. to favour (as is supposed) the religion to which he was attached suspended the operation of the penal laws against dissenters. Our Friends had their share in the benefit arising from this measure; but it was not until the reign of William and Mary, that they obtained some degree of legal protection. Besides their disuse of the national forms of worship, their refusing to swear and to pay tithes, had been among the principal causes of their sufferings. In the reign of king William, an act was made,† which, with a few exceptions, allowed to their affirmation the legal force of an oath, and provided a less oppressive mode of recovering tithes, under a stated amount. These provisions were made perpetual in the reign of George I.‡ and thus Friends, who received the advantage of the act of toleration, in common with other dissenters, have been in a great measure relieved from persecution.

* 16 Car. II. cap. 4. † 7 & 8 Wm. III. cap. 34.

‡ 1 Geo. I. cap. 6. and see 8 Geo. I. cap. 6.

At the same time that the society in England experienced the vicissitudes which have been thus briefly mentioned, similar circumstances befel our Friends in Ireland. In that nation also, they propagated their principles, settled meetings, suffered persecution, and were at length relieved by law. (a)

The means of persecution, though now generally condemned by our countrymen, are not wholly removed; and we are still liable to suffer in the Exchequer, and in the Ecclesiastical Court; but this must be understood only with respect to Great Britain and Ireland; for in America the people at present are not bound to support a national ministry; nor, when this was in some parts the case, were methods of enforcing payment employed, so tedious and so severe as those which have been sometimes resorted to in England. (b)

It has already been mentioned, that our Friends above a century ago, had made their appearance in New-England; from whence all the violence of their persecutors had not been able to expel them. They were also early to be found in other colonies,

(a) Those who are desirous of particular information respecting Friends in Ireland, may consult Edmundson's Journal, and Rutt's History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in that nation.

(b) It is worthy of remark, that in the province of Massachusetts, in which the most sanguinary laws had been enacted and put into execution against Friends, the first law was made exempting them from contributing to the support of the public ministry: an act of assembly having passed for that purpose in 1731, Jonathan Belcher being governor.

In expressing ourselves on the subject of the gracious display of the love of God to mankind in the coming of our Saviour, we include a belief in his miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension. We may add, that in reference to these, to the foregoing, and to other points of Christian doctrine, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in Scripture; and contented with that knowledge which divine wisdom hath seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain under the veil.

To Christ alone we give the title of the Word of God,* and not to the Scriptures; although we highly esteem these sacred writings, in subordination to the Spirit from which† they were given forth; and we hold, with the apostle Paul, that they ‘are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.’‡

We revere those most excellent precepts which are recorded in Scripture to have been delivered by our great Lord, and we firmly believe that they are practicable, and binding on every Christian; and that in the life to come every man will be rewarded according to his works.¶ And further, it is our belief, that, in order to enable mankind to put in practice these sacred precepts, many of which are contradictory to the unregenerate will of man, every man coming into the

* John i. 1. † 2 Peter, i. 21. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 15. ¶ Mat. xvi. 27.

world,* is endued with a measure of the Light, Grace, or good Spirit of Christ ; by which, as it is attended to, he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and to correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his fallen nature, which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome. For all that belongs to man is fallible, and within the reach of temptation ; but this divine Grace, which comes by Him who hath overcome the world,† is, to those who humbly and sincerely seek it, an allsufficient and present help in time of need. By this, the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance is experienced through faith in its effectual operation ; whereby (as before, in other words, expressed) the soul is translated out of the kingdom of darkness, and from under the power of Satan, into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God.

Being thus persuaded that man, without the Spirit of Christ inwardly revealed, can do nothing to the glory of God, or to effect his own salvation ; we think this influence especially necessary to the performance of the highest act of which the human mind is capable ; even the worship of the Father of lights and of spirits, in spirit and in truth : therefore we consider as obstructions to pure worship, all forms which divert the attention of the mind from the secret influence of this “unction from the Holy One.”‡ Yet, although true worship is not confined to time and place, we think it

* *John i. 9.* † *John. xvi. 33.* ‡ *1 John ii. 20. 27.*

incumbent* on Christians to meet often together, (c) in testimony of their dependence on their heavenly Father, and for a renewal of their spiritual strength : we therefore in common with almost all who profess the Christian name, are in the practice of assembling for this purpose on the First day of the week ; and it is also our practice to hold a meeting for worship on some other day, about the middle of the week.—The due observance of one day in seven as a day of rest, and a day more especially set apart for the purpose of public worship, and for other duties of a religious nature, we believe to be incumbent on a Christian community, agreeably to the authority of Holy Scripture ; and of incalculable importance in its results.

Although we have thus our stated times for assembling together for the performance of public worship, nevertheless we dare not depend, for our acceptance with God, on a formal repetition of the words and experience of others : but we believe it to be our duty to lay aside (d) the activity of the imagination, and to wait in silence to have a true sight of our condition bestowed upon us :

* Heb. x. 25.

(c) Thus " Each not only partakes of the particular refreshment and strength which comes from the good in himself, but is a sharer of the whole body, as being a living member of the body, having a joint fellowship and communion with all." Barclay's Apology, Prop. xi. § 8.

(d) If any should object the difficulty of laying aside the *activity of the imagination*, let such consider the following

ring even a single sigh,* arising from such
se of our infirmities, and of the need we have
ine help, to be more acceptable to God,
any performances, however specious, which
ate in the will of man.

om what has been said respecting worship, it
is that the ministry we approve must have its
from the same source: for that which is
ul for a man's own direction, and for his
tance with God, must be eminently so to en-
him to be helpful to others. Accordingly we
re that the renewed assistance of the light
power of Christ, is indispensably necessary
true ministry; and that this holy influence
at our command, or to be procured by study,
the free gift of God to chosen and devoted
its.—Hence arises our testimony against
hing for hire, in contradiction to Christ's po-
command, "Freely ye have received freely
"† and hence our conscientious refusal to sup-
such ministry, by tithes or other means.

we dare not encourage any ministry, but
which we believe to spring from the influence
Holy Spirit, so neither dare we attempt to

* Rom. viii. 26. † Matt. x. 8.

ent :—That it is our duty to maintain a watch over
oughts, by endeavouring to preserve our attention
eing carried away by such as manifestly originate in
n natural will or habits, and to wait patiently for the
of the life of Christ: which by bringing every
t into subjection, produces a true inward silence, and
afford a true sense of our condition.

restrain this ministry to persons of any condition in life, or to the male sex alone ; but, as male and female are one in Christ, we hold it proper that such of the female sex as we believe to be endued with a right qualification for the ministry, should exercise their gifts for the general edification of the church : and this liberty we esteem a peculiar mark of the gospel dispensation, as foretold by the prophet Joel,* and noticed by the apostle Peter.†

There are two ceremonies in use among most professors of the Christian name, Water-Baptism, and what is termed the Lord's Supper. The first of these is generally esteemed the essential means of initiation into the Church of Christ ; and the latter, of maintaining, communion with him. But as we have been convinced, that nothing short of his redeeming power, inwardly revealed, can set the soul free from the thralldom of sin ; by this power alone we believe salvation to be effected. We hold that as there is one Lord and one faith,‡ so his baptism is one, in nature and operation ; that nothing short of it can make us living members of his mystical body ; and that the baptism with water, administered by his forerunner John, belonged, as the latter confessed, to an inferior and decreasing dispensation.§

With respect to the other rite, we believe that communion between Christ and his church is not maintained by that, or by any other external per-

* Joel ii. 28. 29. † Acts. ii. 16—18. ‡ Eph. iv. 5.

§ John iii. 30.

formance, but only by a real participation of his divine nature* through faith; that this is the supper alluded to in the Revelation, "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me;"† and that where the substance is attained, it is unnecessary to attend to the shadow; which doth not confer grace, and concerning which, opinions so different, and animosities so violent, have arisen.

Now, as we thus believe that the grace of God, which comes by Jesus Christ, is alone sufficient for salvation, we can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, whilst others are left without it; nor, thus asserting its universality, can we limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin, even in this life. We entertain worthier notions both of the power and goodness of our heavenly Father, and believe that he doth vouchsafe to assist the obedient to experience a total surrender of the natural will, to the guidance of his pure unerring Spirit; through whose renewed assistance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holiness, and to stand perfect in their present rank.‡

There are not many of our tenets more generally known than our testimony against Oaths, and against War. With respect to the former of these, we abide literally by Christ's positive injunction, *delivered in his sermon on the mount*, "Swear not
* 2 Pet. i. 4. † Rev. iii. 20. ‡ Mat. v. 48. Eph. iv. 13.
Col. iv. 12.

at all.”* From the same sacred collection of the most excellent precepts of moral and religious duty, from the example of our Lord himself,† and from the correspondent convictions of his Spirit in our hearts, we are confirmed in the belief that wars and fightings are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the gospel; which still breathes peace and good-will to men. We also are clearly of the judgment, that if the benevolence of the Gospel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually prevent them from oppressing, much more from enslaving, their brethren (of whatever colour or complexion,) for whom, as for themselves, Christ died; and would even influence their conduct in their treatment of the brute creation; which would no longer groan, the victims of their avarice, or of their false ideas of pleasure.

Some of our tenets have in former times, as hath been shown, subjected our Friends to much suffering from Government; though to the salutary purposes of Government, our principles are a security. They inculcate submission to the laws in all cases wherein conscience is not violated. But we hold, that as Christ’s kingdom is not of this world, it is not the business of the civil magistrate to interfere in matters of religion; but to maintain the external peace and good order of the community. We therefore think persecution,

* Matt. v. 34. † Matt. v. 39. 44, &c. xvi. 52. 53.

Luke xxii. 51. John xviii. 11.

even in the smallest degree, unwarrantable. We are careful in requiring our members not to be concerned in illicit trade, nor in any manner to defraud the revenue.

It is well known that the society, from its first appearance, has disused those names of the months and days, which having been given in honour of the heroes or false gods of the heathen, originated in their flattery or superstition ; and also the custom of speaking to a single person in the plural number, as having likewise arisen from motives of adulation. Compliments, superfluity of apparel, of furniture, and of provision for the table, outward shows of rejoicing and mourning, and the observation of days and times, we esteem to be incompatible with the simplicity of a Christian life ; and public diversions, gaming, and other vain amusements of the world, we cannot but condemn. They are a waste of that time which is given us for nobler purposes ; and divert the attention of the mind from the sober duties of life, and from the reproofs of instruction, by which we are guided to an everlasting inheritance.

To conclude, although we have exhibited the several tenets, which distinguish our religious society, as objects of our belief ; yet we are sensible that a true and living faith is not produced in the mind of man by his own effort ; but is the gift of God* in Christ Jesus, nourished and

* Eph. ii. 8.

increased by the progressive operation of his Spirit in our hearts, and our proportionate obedience. Therefore, although for the preservation of testimonies given us to bear, and for the peace and good order of the society, we deem it necessary that those who are admitted into membership with us, should be previously convinced of those doctrines which we esteem essential; yet we require no formal subscription to any articles, either as a condition of membership, or a qualification for service of the church. We prefer judging of men by their fruits, and depending on the aid of the Holy Spirit, who, by his prophet, hath promised to be 'a spirit of Judgment to him that sitteth in judgment.'† Without this, there is a danger of receiving numbers into outward communion, without any addition to that spiritual sheepfold, whereof our blessed Lord declared himself to be the door and the shepherd;‡ that is, of such as do not know his voice, and follow him in the path of obedience.

* John, vii. 17. † Isaiah, xxviii. 6. ‡ John, x. 7.

CHAPTER III.

Discipline.

Purposes and fundamental rule of Discipline.—Meetings for conducting it.—Monthly Meetings. Poor. Convinced persons. Certificates of Removal. Overseers.—Mode of dealing with Offenders.—Arbitration.—Marriages. Births and Burials.—Quarterly Meetings.—Queries. Appeals.—The Yearly Meeting.—Women's Meetings.—Meetings of Ministers and Elders. Certificates to Ministers.—Meeting for Sufferings.—Conclusion.

THE purposes which our discipline hath chiefly in view, are, the relief of the poor,—the maintenance of good order,—the support of the testimonies which we believe it is our duty to bear to the world,—and the help and recovery of such as are overtaken in faults:—in a few words, the promotion of piety and charity.

In the practice of discipline, we think it indispensable that the order recommended by Christ himself be invariably observed: * “If thy brother shall trespass against thee go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee,

Mat. xviii 15 17.

thou hast gained thy brother ;
hear thee, then take with thee
that in the mouth of two or three
word may be established : and
to hear them, tell it unto the ch

To effect the salutary purpose
meetings were appointed, at an
society, which, from the times c
were called Quarterly-meetings.
found expedient* to divide the
meetings, and to meet more
whence arose Monthly-meetings
those held quarterly. At len
Yearly-meeting was established
assist, and provide rules for, the
to which, general meetings had
held.

A Monthly-meeting is usual
veral particular congregations, (c
a convenient distance from each
ness is to provide for the subsis
and for the education of their c
of the sincerity and fitness of p
be convinced of the religious pri
ety, and desiring to be admit

* Fox, 390. † Sew

(e) Where this is the case, it is usu
each congregation to form what is
meeting, because its business is to
occur among themselves, to be laid
meeting.

ship; (f) to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duty; and to deal with disorderly members. Monthly-meetings also grant to such of their members as remove into other Monthly-meetings, certificates of their membership and conduct; without which they cannot gain membership in such meetings. Each Monthly-meeting is required to appoint certain persons, under the name of overseers, who are to take care that the rules of our discipline be put in practice; and when any case of complaint, or disorderly conduct, comes to their knowledge, to see that private admonition, agreeably to the gospel rule before-mentioned, be given, previously to its being laid before the Monthly-meeting.

When a case is introduced to the Monthly-meeting, it is usual for a small committee to be appointed to visit the offender, in order to endeavour to convince him of his error, and induce him to forsake and condemn (g) it. Time is allowed to judge of the effect of this labour of love, and if needful the visit is repeated. If the endeavours prove successful, the person is by minute declared

(f) On an application of this kind, a small committee is appointed to visit the party, and report to the Monthly-meeting; which is directed by our rules not to admit any into membership, without allowing a seasonable time to consider of their conduct.

(g) *This is generally done by a written acknowledgement, signed by the offender.*

to have made satisfaction for the offence ; if not, he is disowned as a member of the society. (h)

In disputes between individuals, it has long been the decided judgment of the society, that its members should not sue each other at law. It therefore enjoins all to end their differences by speedy and impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid down. If any refuse to adopt this mode, or, having adopted it, to submit to the award, it is the direction of the Yearly-meeting that such be disowned.

To Monthly-meetings also belongs the allowing of marriages ; for our society hath always scrupled to acknowledge the exclusive authority of the priests in the solemnization of marriage. Those who intend to marry, appear together and propose their intention to the Monthly-meeting ; and if not attended by their parents or guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they are clear of other engagements respecting marriage ; and if at a subsequent meeting no objections are reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public

(h) This is done by what is termed a Testimony of denial ; which is a paper reciting the offence, and sometimes the steps which have led to it ; next, the means unavailingly used to reclaim the offender ; after that, a clause disowning him ; to which is usually added an expression of desire for his repentance, and for his being restored to membership.

meeting for worship, towards the close whereof the parties stand up, and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witnesses. Of such marriages the Monthly-meeting keeps a record; as also of the births and burials of its members. A certificate of the date, of the name of the infant, and of its parents, signed by those present at the birth, is the subject of one of these last mentioned records; and an order for the interment countersigned by the grave-maker, of the other. The naming of children is without ceremony. Burials are also conducted in a simple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends, is sometimes, previously to interment, carried to a meeting; and at the grave a pause is generally made; on both which occasions it frequently occurs, that one or more friends present have somewhat to express for the edification of those who attend; but no religious rite is considered as an essential part of burial.

Several Monthly-meetings compose a Quarterly-meeting. At the Quarterly-meeting are produced written answers from the Monthly-meetings, to certain queries respecting the conduct of their members, and the meeting's care over them. The accounts thus received, are digested into one, which is sent, also in the form of answers to queries, by representatives, to the Yearly-meeting.

Appeals from the judgment of Monthly-meetings, are brought to the Quarterly-meetings; where business also it is to assist in any difficult case, or where remissness appears in the care of the Monthly-meetings over the individuals who compose them.

The Yearly-meeting has the general superintendence of the society in the country in which it is established (†) and therefore, as the accounts which it receives discover the state of inferior meetings, as particular exigencies require, or as the meeting is impressed with a sense of duty, it gives forth its advice, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excites to the observance of those already made; and sometimes appoints committees to visit those Quarterly-meetings which appear to be in need of immediate advice. Appeals from the judgment of Quarterly-meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other * Yearly-meetings.

In this place it is proper to add, that, as we believe women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of our Christian discipline; † and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex

* See the last note. † Fox, 461. 492.

(†) There are nine Yearly-meetings, viz. 1 London, to which come representatives from Ireland, 2 New-England, 3 New-York, 4 Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, 5 Maryland, 6 Virginia, 7 The Carolinas and Georgia, 8 Ohio, 9 Indiana.

is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety. Accordingly they have Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly-meetings of their own sex, held at the same time with those of the men; but separately, and without the power of making rules; and it may be remarked that during the persecutions, which formerly occasioned the imprisonment of so many of the men, the care of the poor often fell on the women, and was by them satisfactorily administered.

In order that those who are in the situation of ministers may have the tender sympathy and counsel of those of either sex, who, by their experience in the work of religion, are qualified for that service, the Monthly-meetings are advised to select such, under the denomination of elders. These, and ministers approved by their Monthly-meetings, (*k*) have meetings peculiar to themselves, called Meetings of Ministers and elders; in which they have an opportunity of exciting each other to a discharge of their several duties, and of extending advice to those who may appear to be weak, without any needless exposure. Such meetings are generally held in the compass of each Monthly, Quarterly,

(*k*) Those who believe themselves required to speak in meetings for worship, are not immediately acknowledged as ministers by their Monthly-meetings; but time is taken for judgment, that the meeting may be satisfied of their call and qualification. It will also sometimes happen, that such as are not approved, will obtrude themselves as ministers, to the grief of their brethren, but much forbearance is used towards these, before the disapprobation of the meeting is publicly testified.

and Yearly-meeting. They are conducted by rules prescribed by the Yearly-meeting, and have no authority to make any alteration or addition to them. The members of them unite with their brethren in the Meetings for discipline, and are equally accountable to the latter for their conduct.

It is to a meeting of this kind in London, called the Second-day's Morning-meeting, that the revisal of manuscripts concerning our principles, previously to publication, is intrusted by the Yearly-Meeting held in London; and also the granting, in the intervals of the Yearly-meeting, of certificates of approbation to such ministers as are concerned to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts; in addition to those granted by their Monthly and Quarterly-meetings. When a visit of this kind doth not extend beyond Great Britain, a certificate from the Monthly-meeting of which the minister is a member, is sufficient; if to Ireland, the concurrence of the Quarterly-meeting is also required. Regulations of similar tendency obtain in other Yearly-meetings.

The Yearly-meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, which hath continued with great use to the Society to this day. It is composed of friends under the name of *correspondents*, chosen by the several Quarterly-meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same Meetings also appoint members of their

men in the country as correspondents, who are to inform their brethren in London, on emergency. The names of all these correspondents, previously to their being recorded, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly-meeting. Such men as are approved ministers are also members of this meeting, which is called the Meeting for Sufferings; a name arising from its original purpose, and which is not yet become entirely obsolete.

The Yearly-meeting has intrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock; (1) and, considered as a standing committee of the Yearly-meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society, and requiring immediate attention: particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to Government. There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned, any president, as we believe that Divine Wisdom alone ought to preside; nor hath any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is undertaken voluntarily by some member; as is also the keeping of the records. Where these are

(1) This is an occasional voluntary contribution, expended in printing books,—salary of clerk for keeping records, the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond seas,—and some small incidental charges: but not, as has been falsely supposed, the reimbursement of those who suffer constraint for tithes and other demands with which they actually comply.

very voluminous, and require a house for their deposit, (as is the case in London, where the general records of the society in Great Britain are kept,) a clerk is hired to have the care of them; but except a few clerks of this kind, and persons who have the care of meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society.

Thus have we given a view of the foundation and establishment of our discipline; by which it will be seen, that it is not (as hath been frequently insinuated) merely the work of modern times; but was the early care and concern of our pious predecessors.—We cannot better close this short sketch of it, than by observing, that if the exercise of discipline should in some instances appear to press hard upon those, who, neglecting the monitions of divine counsel in their hearts, are also unwilling to be accountable to their brethren; yet, if that great, leading and indispensable rule, enjoined by our Lord, be observed by those who undertake to be active in it, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,”* it will prevent the censure of the church from falling on any thing but that which really obstructs the progress of Truth. Discipline will then promote, in an eminent degree, that love of our neighbour, which is the mark of discipleship, and without which a profession of love to God, and to his cause, is a vain pretence. “He,” said the be-

loved disciple, "that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also."*

FARTHER PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE DOCTRINES AND PRACTICE OF THE SOCIETY.

Although from the peculiarity of their dress and manners, the *existence* of this Society is pretty extensively known; yet considering the length of time since its first formation, it is really suprising to find, how many highly respectable and even well informed persons are ignorant of their principles, and the reason of their peculiarities, and how much misconception and misrepresentation have obtained regarding them.

The Friends, desire not to affect singularity, they consider that they have no new doctrine to promulgate; but even that which was from the beginning, Jesus Christ the advocate with the Father, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever: referring to the Holy Scriptures as the recorded evidence and outward standard, they are convinced that many things not warranted by any thing there-contained, have crept into the Church, during times of apostacy, some merely incumbrances, others highly injurious—these they have been anxious to avoid, and to come to the simplicity of

* 1 John, iv. 20. 21.

the Truth as it is in Jesus, and as it was professed and practised by his primitive followers.

The circumstances of the times seem to render it desirable, that the doctrine and discipline of the Society of Friends, should be more generally known and understood. In North America, Infidel principles have been propagated with remarkable zeal, to the great affliction of several christian Societies, and of the Society of Friends among the rest; they have suffered perhaps, more deeply than any others. In some instances, nearly one third part have seceded from the Society, and held separate meetings, but late accounts seem to prove that the numbers of separatists in the whole, is less than was at first expected, though the principles of these people, are widely and irreconcilably different from those which the Society of Friends have supported from the beginning; they have, nevertheless, insisted on retaining the name of Friends among themselves.

Among the misrepresentations which have been current with respect to the Society in general, is that, which charges them with being Deists, and because they prefer keeping to the terms of Scripture, and refuse to employ those of Sacrament or Trinity, they have been accused of holding Unitarian, or Socinian principles; but the groundlessness of these charges may be clearly shewn from the writings of their earliest, and most esteemed members, and particularly in two works, which *the present troubles in America have been the*

means of producing, viz. "An Exposition of the Faith of the religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, principally selected from their early writings, by THOMAS EVANS, of Philadelphia ;—The Doctrines of Friends: or, the principles of the Christian religion, as held by the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, by ELIZABETH BATES, of Mount Pleasant, Ohio, North America ;" and these publications, together with "Observations on the Religious peculiarities of Friends," and "Essays on the evidences, Doctrines, and practical operation of Christianity, by JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, of Norwich ;" and "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers, by ROBERT BARKLAY;" which may be procured at the London Booksellers, clearly shew, that the Society is neither Deistical, nor Socinian, nor Unitarian ; but that its principles are founded upon the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, which they firmly believe to have been given by Divine Inspiration.

The Society at its annual assembly held in London, in the year 1829, felt it a duty towards those who have stood firm to their ancient principles in North America, to issue the following minute, declaratory of its sentiments with regard to the separation which has taken place in that part of the world :—

**DECLARATORY MINUTE BY THE YEARLY MEETING
OF FRIENDS, HELD IN LONDON, IN THE YEAR 1829.**

This Meeting has been introduced into a feeling of much sympathy and brotherly love for our brethren on the American Continent. We have heard, with deep concern and sorrow, of the close trials to which they have been subjected by the diffusion of anti-christian doctrines among them; and we consider it to be a duty to disclaim, and we hereby do disclaim, all connexion, as a religious society, with any Meetings for the purpose of worship, or discipline which have been established or which are upheld, by those who have embraced such anti-christian doctrines.

And in order to prevent any misapprehension as to our views, we feel ourselves called upon, at this time, to avow our belief in the inspiration and divine authority of the Old and New Testament.

We further believe, that the promise made after the transgression of our first parents, in the consequences of whose fall all the posterity of Adam are involved, ^a that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent; and the declaration unto Abraham, ^b "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," had a direct reference to the coming in the flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ. To Him, also, did the Prophet Isaiah bear testimony, when he declared, ^c "Unto

^a *Gen. iii. 15.* ^b *Gen. xxii. 18.* ^c *Isai. ix. 6, 7.*

us a child is born, unto us a son is given : and the government shall be upon his shoulder : and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace : of the increase of his government and peace *there shall be* no end." And again, the same Prophet spoke of him when he said ^a "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows : yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted ; but he *was* wounded for our transgressions, *he was* bruised for our iniquities : the chastisement of our peace was upon him ; and with his stripes we are healed." The same blessed Redeemer is emphatically denominated by the Prophet Jeremiah, ^b " The LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

At that period, and in that miraculous manner, which God in his perfect wisdom saw fit, the promised Messiah appeared personally upon the earth, when ^c " He took not on *him* the nature of angels ; but he took on *him* the seed of Abraham." He ^d "was in all points tempted like as *we are*, yet without sin. ^e Having finished the work which was given him to do, ^f He gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God. ^g He tasted death for every man. ^h " He is the propitiation for our sins : and not for our's only, but also for *the sins* of the whole world." ⁱ " We have redemption through

^a Isai. liii. 4, 5.

^b Jerem. xxiii. 6.

^c Heb. ii. 16.

^d Heb. iv. 15.

^e John, xvii. 4.

^f Eph. v. 2.

^g Heb. ii. 9.

^h 1 John, ii. 2.

ⁱ Col. i. 14.

his blood, *even* the forgiveness of sins." ^a He passed into the heavens; and ^b being the brightness of the glory of God, "and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;" and ^c ever liveth to make intercession for us.

^d It is by the Lord Jesus Christ that the world will be judged in righteousness. ^e He is the Mediator of the new covenant; ^f "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether *they be* thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist." ^g "In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily:" and to him did the Evangelist bear testimony when he said ^h "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him, was not any thing made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men." He "was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

^a Heb. iv. 14. ^b Heb. i. 3. ^c Heb. vii. 25. ^d Acts, xvii. 31. ^e Heb. xii. 24. ^f Col. i. 15, 17. ^g Col. ii. 9. ^h John, i. 1, 4, 9.

Our blessed Lord himself spoke of His perpetual dominion and power in his church, when He said ^a“My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life:” and when describing the spiritual food which he bestoweth on the true believers, He declared, ^b“I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.” He spoke also of his saving grace, bestowed on those who come in faith unto Him, when he said “Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life.”

Our religious Society, from its earliest establishment to the present day, has received these most important doctrines of Holy Scripture in their plain and obvious acceptation; and we do not acknowledge as in fellowship with us, as a Christian Community, any body of religious professors which does not thus accept them, or which openly receives and accredits as Ministers, those who attempt to invalidate any of these doctrines which we esteem as essential parts of the Christian Religion.

It is the earnest desire of this Meeting, that all who profess our name, may so live, and so walk before God, as that they may know these sacred truths *to be blessed* to them individually. We

^a John, x. 27, 28. ^b John vi. 35. ^c John iv. 14.

desire that, as the mere profession of sound Christian doctrine will not avail to the salvation of the soul, all may attain to a living efficacious faith, which, through the power of the Holy Ghost,^a bringeth forth fruit unto holiness; the end whereof is everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord.
^b“Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.”

ON WORSHIP, AND THE MINISTRY.

In common with almost all who profess the Christian name, the society of Friends are in the practice of assembling for the purpose of worship, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, and it is also their practice to hold a meeting for worship on some other day about the middle of the week. The due observance of one day in seven as a day of rest, and a day more especially set apart for the purpose of public worship, and for other duties of a religious nature, they believe to be incumbent on a christian community, agreeably to the authority of Holy Scripture, and of incalculable importance in its results.

Except during the time of prayer, when they are all uncovered, the men do not take off their hats in their religious meeting, unless for their own convenience, the custom of doing so in places of worship, originated, no doubt, in a superstitious reverence for particular places; but the Friends

^a Rom. vi. 22. ^b Rev. v. 13.

think that the observation of our Saviour to the woman of Samaria, is conclusive upon the subject, when He told her, "the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem (exclusively) worship the Father."

What relates to the subject of worship is given in the words of a little pamphlet published with the sanction of the society.*

The Divine Majesty is not to be comprehended by our gross organs ; as he is a Spirit, so he communicates spiritually with the soul or spirit of man. Religion, we have seen, is a spiritual work, and its highest office, worship, can only be acceptably performed by those who have experienced something of a preparation of heart for this solemn duty. The apostle declares, "to be carnally-minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace." "The carnal mind is enmity against God,"† therefore, they who are in this state cannot be prepared to worship aright. Worship implies service, devotion, obedience ; and as we cannot, without Divine help, bring our minds into a proper state to approach the Source of purity, it is our duty to wait for qualification in reverential silence. We must endeavour to abstract our thoughts as much as possible from the things of time and sense : we must labour to still the pas-

* Brief remarks on the Carnal and Spiritual state of man. To be procured of J. and A. ARCH, Cornhill ; HARVEY and DARTON, Gracechurch-street ; or EDMUND FRY, Houndsditch, London.

† Rom. viii. 7.

sions, that so our minds may be fixed upon infinite wisdom and goodness; we must avoid following any train of ideas, which do not bring with them a degree of evidence that they originate from the operation of the Divine Spirit in the heart. If, at these times, we are made sensible that our sins and infirmities prevent our approaching before the Almighty, with acceptance; or if even condemnation and sorrow should be our portion, in feeling that we have incurred the displeasure of so good and gracious a Being, let us not be too much discouraged. We have abundant cause to believe, that if, in sincerity and faith, we seek unto him whom we have offended, these very conflicts will prove great blessings unto us, and that in his appointed time we shall have to praise the Lord for his goodness.

Nor ought we to be discouraged; if sometimes we should have to wait long, under a sense of deep poverty of spirit; for if this does not arise from unfaithfulness on our part, it is a highly acceptable state, however humiliating to human nature. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."* But if we persevere, and faint not, we shall, in the Lord's time, which no man can hasten, assuredly reap the soul-enriching harvest of that peace, which passeth all understanding,† we shall at times, in our humble and silent waiting, feel our hearts filled with the love of God, and experience a joy far superior to any thing which this world can afford. What could

* Matt. v. 3. † Phil. iv. 7.

any poor mortal desire more than to feel a degree of union with the greatest of Beings—even with Him who created and sustains the worlds. When any thing like this is experienced, all anxiety will be removed respecting the things of time, as well as of eternity; knowing that we have ample ground to trust our great and good Master for that support which he has uniformly promised. When the mind is thus prepared, it is peculiarly fitted to receive divine impressions; and as we yield obedience to the requirings of duty which may be opened before us, though at first they may appear small and contrary to our natural inclination, we shall surely witness an increase of strength. If we continue faithful, we shall know by incontrovertible evidence in the secret of our souls, “that we have not followed cunningly devised fables,”* but, through the power of redeeming love, have been enabled to build upon the “sure foundation,”† the immutable Rock of truth. While these dispositions of mind are experienced, our whole lives will be one continued act of worship, and though, in our common and lawful concerns, it will be our duty to direct our attention to various engagements, yet, while the love of God occupies the chief place in the heart, we shall suffer no injurious distraction. We may be enabled to conduct our necessary worldly affairs in such a manner as to become preachers of righteousness, even in the manner of transacting them in the

* 2 Pet. i. 16. † 2 Tim. ii. 19.

view of the world, whereby our heavenly Father may be glorified. The Saviour, when interceding for the disciples, said, "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil;"* and when disengaged from business, or when any little interval occurs in it, we may again retire into the recess of our hearts, and sit as at the feet of our beloved. O precious privilege, thus to experience the truth of that declaration of the Saviour "Behold, the kingdom of God is within you." Great consolation and increase of strength may be derived from thus frequently retiring, and from mental prayer; for, he "who seeth in secret," is ever ready to listen to the humble aspiration of those who feel that they have no other helper but we must *seek*, if we would *find*—we must *knock*, before we can expect an entrance.

Although every individual may thus worship in the temple of his heart, it is incumbent upon us publicly to assemble at certain times and places for the performance of this duty; not only as it becomes us to give open testimony to the world of our dependence upon the Supreme Being, but as much benefit may be derived from this united engagement of heart, for great strength and refreshment are experienced in the sympathy of the spirits of our fellow believers. The neglect of public worship is almost always a sure indication of an alarming state of indifference to those things

* John xvii. 15.

† Luke xvii. 21.

‡ Mat. vi. 6.

in which our everlasting peace is most deeply concerned : for when we are truly awakened to the importance of endeavouring to make our calling and election sure, we shall be glad to avail ourselves of every opportunity of increasing our spiritual strength.

It becomes the heads of families, in their highly responsible station, in an especial manner to consider not only how their example may influence the minds of their important charge, but early, unremittingly, and constantly to train them up in the performance of this primary duty. It is natural to shew an eagerness towards that in which we are interested ; accordingly we find that the pious in all ages were in the practice of assembling together, and comforting and encouraging each other. With what approbation this was marked by the Almighty himself appears by the declaration of his prophet, (Malachi, iii. 16, 17.) " They that feared the Lord, spake often one to another ; and the Lord earkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name. And they shall be mine saith the Lord of hosts, that day when I make up my jewels ; and I will re them, as a man spareth his own son that serveth him."

We may derive the highest encouragement in discharge of this primary duty, even in very small companies, by the gracious promise of the *Head of the Church*, " Where two or three are

gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.”* This can only be understood of his spiritual appearance, in the same manner as when comforting his poor disciples, a short time before they were deprived of his bodily presence, he tells them, “Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.”† Here the obligation to the performance of legal ceremonies being nearly at an end, our Lord more clearly points out to his chosen followers the nature of that transcendently glorious dispensation which was about to burst forth upon the world.—O the heavenly, the consoling language! “Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my father’s house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you; that where I am, ye may be also.”‡—O, the depth of the love of Christ! he will never leave his people; he will have them near him where he is, and even in glory for ever! The disciples had hitherto enjoyed his blessed company, and had been eye-witnesses of his wonderful works; and now he tells them, that he will be ever present with them in a spiritual and more intimate manner: “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit when he the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come.”§

* Mat. xviii. 20. † Mat. xviii. 20. ‡ John xiv. 1, 2. 3.
§ John, xvi. 12, 13.

And again, in that affecting prayer to his Father, he extends his views through all ages, even unto *us* : “ Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word : that they all may be one ; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.”—“ I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.”* And the apostle Paul lays such stress upon the necessity of the indwelling of Christ in his disciples, that he thus exhorts the Corinthians : “ Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith ; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you except ye be reprobate ? ”†

It is, as has been already said, only under the influence of this Divine Spirit in the heart, that acceptable worship can be performed ; without it, the most excellent forms of words will be employed in vain, as well as outward rites and ceremonies. It cannot be doubted that many pious persons, who are in the use of them, offer acceptable worship, yet its acceptance consists, not in the form which they practice, but in the disposition of the heart ; and the great danger of forms is, that many may adopt them without seeking after the Divine substance which alone can save. Though the Redeemer, in fulfilling all righteousness, submitted in his own person to the ceremonies of a less perfect dispensation, which was but preparatory to his own, yet all these types and shadows came to an end when

* John xvii. 20, 21, 23. † 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

he exclaimed upon the cross, "It is finished!" Prayer is an important part of worship; it is repeatedly enjoined in Holy Writ; and those who are awakened to a true sense of their spiritual condition, will be the most frequently aware of the necessity of their being thus engaged. But as there are different degrees of growth in religion and the mind is not always in the same state, a set form of words can never be applicable at all times to the same person, much less to a mixed multitude. It is indeed an awful thing for one in the constant habit of indulging his sensual appetites to address himself to the Source of Purity, in sentiments and with words suited to those who have arrived at large experience in the work of sanctification. This would be considered as mockery and insult, if transacted between man and man; how, then, must it be viewed by the Searcher of hearts! May not such expect this answer, "Your incense is an abomination." Even they who are rightly disposed, know not what to ask but as the Spirit helpeth their infirmities; we are ignorant of what is best for ourselves, and our minds must be divinely influenced and directed, if we pray acceptably.

True worship, then, can only be performed "in spirit and in truth,"† and such worshippers are sometimes favoured to experience a union and communion of spirit, which wonderfully strengthens and animates them, even when not a word is uttered during the whole time of their meeting

* *John xix. 30.* Col. ii. 14. † *John iv. 23, 24.*

they are secretly and immediately instructed by Him who teaches as man never taught. Sometimes, however, he sees meet to make use of instruments, by influencing the minds of some to minister, in the ability which he gives, to the various states of a mixed congregation; and when this is done in the fresh feeling of divine power and life, it tends to the edification of the body. It is made to apply to the condition of individuals present, and coming from the true source, it carries its own evidence with it. As the Divine Being alone knows the state of the heart, and as there is a great variety of states, so he is pleased to make use of various instruments for the accomplishment of his gracious purposes. In this respect there was a beautiful order in the primitive church; all, who were rightly influenced, might prophesy or minister one by one,* and if any thing were revealed to another that sat by, the first was to hold his peace. Here a fresh revelation was distinctly pointed at; even he, who at times might, under the unction of the Holy One, minister to the states of the people, must keep silence if the revelation was vouchsafed to another who sat by; and this is now the ministry even in "the ability which God giveth,"† by which the sincere hearted are comforted and refreshed. But if the instrument, through unwatchfulness, mixes any thing of mere human contrivance, however excellent the form of words may be, it is liable to bring

* *I Cor. xiv. 30, 31.* † *1 Pet. iv. 11.*

a cloud and darkness over those who have spiritual discernment, for nothing can substantially profit the people but that which is communicated under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit. It was said of our Lord, that "his word was with power;"* and the words of his ministers will, when they are rightly engaged, be also attended with a degree of power. Paul said, "My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power."† And as these divine gifts are vouchsafed to the unlearned as well as the learned, and to women as well as to men, there must be no restriction in the church of Christ, lest we should be found attempting to limit the Holy One. Human learning, however useful in its proper place, can by no means of itself qualify for a minister of the gospel; they who depend upon it may expect to incur this rebuke: "They run and I have not sent them, therefore they shall not profit the people." Some of the first preachers were poor fishermen, and yet how powerful was their ministry. The Lord's prophet Amos, when declaring his commission, says, "I was no prophet, neither a prophet's son, but a gatherer of sycamore fruit: and the Lord *called* me, and said unto me, Go, speak to my people Israel."‡ It is this Divine and inward *call*, this "necessity,"§ which the apostle speaks of, and which he felt so strongly, that he would have incurred Woe if he had *not*

* Luke iv, 32. † 1 Cor. ii. 4. ‡ Amos vii. 14, 15 § 1 Cor. ix 16.

preached the Gospel: it is this, in the constraining power of heavenly love, which alone can make a true minister of Christ, and without this, all the erudition in the world is but as the sounding brass or the tinkling cymbal. The disposition and temper of a true minister of the gospel are pointed out by the great apostle, where he says, "Though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of."* They must not preach with a view to popularity, or to make gain of their hearers; but as they have received their call freely, they are required to administer freely. They must not seek to fix the attention of their hearers upon themselves, but direct them to their Great Master, the Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, according to the declaration of the same apostle, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus's sake."†

Upon this subject the Editor would make the following additional remarks:—

As nothing but "Power from on High"‡ can make a minister of Christ, and as the unlearned may be and have been made skilful in the office through the influence of the Holy Spirit, is it not awful presumption for any one to suppose that they can qualify themselves for that as for any secular employment, by human study? and must we not conclude that when such get into the ministerial office, maintain themselves in it by the Power of the Government, and force all to contribute to

* 1 Cor. ix. 16. † 2 Cor. iv. 5. ‡ Luke, xxiv. 49.

their pecuniary support, that such a proceeding is not only unsanctioned by the scripture of the . Testament, but contrary to the spirit and tenor of the Gospel, and plainly antichristian. A form of maintenance for ministers was unheard of in pure and primitive times of Christianity, and was only introduced when the night of apostacy began to overshadow the Church. It was then that an unholy alliance took place between it and the secular Power, which has degraded Religion, given rise to the cruellest persecution, and at different periods, has deluged the Earth with rivers of blood.

It is because they believe that the religion of our holy Redeemer needs no extraneous support but is injured and sullied by every attempt to associate it with worldly objects, that the society feels conscientiously restrained from contributing towards an ecclesiastical establishment connected with worldly power: they believe that all interference of the civil government in matters purely religious, and which affect not the peace and good order of society, is injurious to the state as well as to the cause of religion; and with regard to the ministry of the Gospel, they consider, that as the gift of God cannot be purchased with money, the ministry should never be connected with considerations so worldly; but that if a minister who has really received the gift, should, in the exercise of it, be thereby prevented from providing for his wants, or from any other cause should stand in need of pecuniary assistance, that assistance should

be afforded to him, just in the same manner as to any other member of the church.

EDUCATION.

What relates to mind, and the formation of character, has been much too slightly regarded in the business of education. The following hints to Tutors, though drawn up for an establishment for Friend's children whose Parents can afford to pay for their instruction, in the higher branches of knowledge, contain much advice applicable to Teachers of every class.

The cultivation of those dispositions of mind, which are acceptable in the Divine Sight, and the formation of that character, which shall be most extensively useful to mankind, are of infinitely more importance than all literary and scientific knowledge, and ought therefore to form the most prominent object in every Christian system of education; and this is never likely to be completely effected but on a plan, in which *one Tutor* of the requisite disposition and talents shall confine his whole attention to a limited number of pupils, there are few who can do full justice to more than ten.

It is in the first place, of the utmost importance to rule by love, but to resist with firmness every tendency in the children to what is wrong. *The Tutor must never inflict any corporal punishment, but endeavour so to conciliate the affection and the confidence of the children, that the mere wit*

drawing of his countenance and kind attention, shall be felt as a severe punishment.

The Tutor should encourage in the children every appearance of religious sensibility—he should strive to impress strongly upon their minds,—the sense of a God ever present,—infinite in Wisdom—in Power—in Love—in Justice and in Mercy,—of his great love to mankind in sending the Lord Jesus Christ, his beloved Son, to die for the sins of all men, (for “that all have sinned;”)* and who, being risen from the dead, is now our advocate with the Father, making intercession for us—to teach them; that He is ever present in spirit with those who love and fear him, and that it is their duty to endeavour, frequently to turn their minds to him—to think of him, and pray to him that they may be favoured with an inward evidence and comfortable feeling of his good presence and love.

The Tutor should endeavour to impress upon the minds of the children a due sense of the dreadful nature and consequences of sin, and of its extreme offensiveness in the Divine sight, to endeavour to make them fully aware of this great Truth that the heart of unregenerate man “is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,” that as they are liable daily and hourly to be tempted to sin, and can only effectually resist these temptations in the strength afforded by “The grace of God” which bringeth salvation,† and hath

* Rom. v. 12. † Titus, ii. 11.

appeared to every man," so they ought, daily and hourly to be upon the watch, and endeavour to keep their minds in such a state as to be enabled to pray for divine assistance.

To bear constantly in mind that the example of the Tutor, will act silently, but powerfully upon the children, and let him endeavour that nothing in his conduct should give him cause of regret, if he saw it imitated by the children.

To keep a watch over his own temper, and passions, and endeavour so to act, that his whole demeanour may tend to produce a beneficial influence upon the children.

To discourage every appearance of pride, or haughtiness, as utterly unbecoming, and unchristian, to teach the children to treat servants, and those in inferior stations with respect and attention, and even to be ready to assist them upon proper occasions—to teach them to consider nothing as *beneath* them, that is not morally wrong. To teach them the vast importance of a close adherence to truth and sincerity, let the probable consequences of that adherence be what they may—to encourage them in a frank and open conduct—to teach them to be content with such things as they have, and never to covet those belonging to another—to be strictly honest, and to dread running into debt.

To teach them to put the most favourable construction upon the conduct of others—to discourage tale-bearing and detraction, and particularly

speaking evil of absent persons—to cultivate in the children kind feelings towards all, and humanity to the brute creation—to teach them the great value of time, and the duty of industry.

To make every pupil the subject of a particular study, as to his capacity, turn of mind, and disposition; and let him endeavour that the circumstances with which the child shall be surrounded, may have a tendency, even unperceived by himself—to develope the good and kind feelings in him, and to repress those of a contrary nature.

The Tutor should keep a diary in which to note any circumstance relative to particular children which may appear to be of sufficient importance.

After breakfast every day, the Tutor should read a portion of Holy Scripture to the children, and at the conclusion let there be a suitable pause.

At the close of the School business every day, each pupil is to be employed about a quarter of an hour in writing, as neatly as possible an account of what he has been occupied in, or has learned in the day.

Before the children retire to rest at night, the Tutor is to read to them a portion of Holy Scripture, or some religious subject, making any remarks that may occur, the whole to conclude with a suitable pause.

A
JOURNAL
OF THE
LIFE AND TRAVELS
OF
JOHN WOOLMAN,

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL.

CHAP. 1.

birth and parentage, with some account of the operations of divine grace on his mind in his youth—His first appearance in the ministry—and his considerations, while young, on the keeping of slaves.

HAVE often felt a motion of love to leave some-
thing in writing of my experience of the goodness
of God; and now in the thirty-sixth year of my
age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington coun-
ty, West Jersey, in the year 1720; and before I
was seven years old I began to be acquainted with
the operations of divine love. Through the care of
my parents, I was taught to read, nearly as soon as I
was capable of it; and as I went from school one
day, I remember, while my companions
were to play by the way, I went forward out of
the school and sitting down I read the 22d chapter of

the Revelations. "He showed me a pure river of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, &c." and in reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation, which, I then believed, God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remains fresh in my memory.

This, and the like gracious visitations, had the effect upon me, that when boys used ill language it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from it.

The pious instructions of my parents were oft fresh in my mind when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me. My parents having a large family of children, used frequently, on first days after meeting, to put us to read in the holy scriptures, or some religious book one after another, the rest sitting by without much conversation; which, I have since often thought was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God, a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of now living: and the apprehension of their boundless steadiness and firmness amongst people in this age than in past ages, often troubled me while *was a child.*

A thing remarkable in my childhood was, once going to a neighbour's house, I saw on the way a robin sitting on her nest, and as I

near she went off, but having young ones, flew about, and with many cries expressed her concern for them; I stood and threw stones at her, until one, striking her, she fell down dead. At first I was pleased with the exploit, but after a few minutes was seized with horror, as having, in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones, for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them; and after some painful considerations on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds, and killed them; supposing that better, than to leave them to pine away and die miserably: and believed, in this case, that scripture proverb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for some hours, could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus He, whose tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exercise goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father *being abroad*, my mother reproved me for some *misconduct*, to which I made an undutiful reply and the next first day, as I was with my fath

returning from meeting, he told me, he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advised me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blameable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind, and getting home I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me ; and do not remember that I ever, after that, spoke unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.

Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company ; and though I was preserved from profane language, or scandalous conduct, still I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes : yet my merciful Father forsook me not utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways ; and the sight of my backslidings affected me with sorrow ; but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance. Upon the whole, my mind was more and more alienated from the truth, and I hastened toward destruction. While I meditate on the gulf toward which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had found comfort in reading *the holy scriptures*, and thinking on heavenly



things, I was now estranged therefrom : I knew I was going from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return ; hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and youthful vanities and diversions my greatest pleasure. Running in this road I found many like myself ; and we associated in that which is reverse to true friendship.

But in this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sickness, so that I doubted of recovering ; and then did darkness, horror, and amazement, with full force, seize me, even when my pain and distress of body were very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with confusion ; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myself. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended ; but, in a deep sense of my great folly, I was humbled before him. At length, that word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition ; and in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement, that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exercise remained with me a considerable time ; but, by degrees, giving way to youthful vanities, they gained strength, and getting with wanton young people, I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and spoke peace *to me in the time of my distress ; and I now most*

ungratefully turned again to folly; on w count, at times, I felt sharp reproof, but I get low enough to cry for help. I was not as to commit things scandalous; but to vanity, and to promote mirth, was my chief. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious and their company brought an awe upon me dear parents several times admonished me fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered my heart, and had a good effect for a season not getting deep enough to pray right tempter, when he came, found entrance. I ber, once having spent a part of the day in ness; as I went to bed at night there lay in dow, near my bed, a bible, which I opened first cast my eye on the text, "We lie our shame, and our confusion covers us; knew to be my case: and meeting with expected a reproof, I was somewhat affected and went to bed under remorse of conscience which I soon cast off again.

Thus time past on; my heart was rep with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing of vanity were presented to my imagination attained the age of eighteen years; near time I felt the judgments of God, in my soul a consuming fire; and looking over my past the prospect was moving—I was often sorrow longed to be delivered from those vanities again, my heart was strongly inclined to this *there was in me a sore conflict.* At times

l to folly; and then again, sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while I resolved tally to leave off some of my vanities; but there as a secret reserve in my heart, of the more reed part of them, and I was not low enough to id true peace. Thus, for some months, I had eat troubles; there remaining in me an unsubcted will, which rendered my labours fruitless, ll at length, through the merciful continuance of eavenly visitations, I was made to bow down in pirit before the Lord. I remember one evening had spent some time in reading a pious author; id walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the ord for his help, that I might be delivered from l those vanities which so ensnared me. Thus eing brought low, he helped me, and as I learned bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from is presence; but not keeping in that strength hich gave victory, I lost ground again; the sense hich greatly affected me: and I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did onfess my sins to God, and humbly craved help him. And I may say with reverence, he was ear to me in my troubles, and in those times of imiliation opened my ear to discipline. I was ow led to look seriously at the means by which I as drawn from the pure truth, and learned this, at if I would live in the life which the faithful ervants of God lived in, I must not go into comany as heretofore in my own will; but all the avings of sense must be governed by a divine

principle. In times of sorrow and abasement these instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness; and being young, and believing, at that time, that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steadily to meetings; spent first day afternoons chiefly in reading the Scriptures and other good books; and was early convinced in my mind, that true religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures—that as the mind was moved, by an inward principle, to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being; by the same principle it was moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world—that, as by his breath, the flame of life was kindled in all animal sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and at the same time exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, was a contradiction in itself.

I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions; but believed, that sincere upright-hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the cross, and simply followed *the openings of truth*, my mind, from day to day.

was more enlightened ; my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private, and keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me. My heart was tender and often contrite, and universal love to my fellow-creatures increased in me ; this will be understood by such who have trodden in the same path. Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces, who dwell in true meekness.

There is a harmony in the sound of that voice to which divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whose passions are regulated ; yet all these do not fully shew forth that inward life to such who have not felt it ; but this white stone and new name is known rightly to such only who have it.

Now, though I had been thus strengthened to bear the cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me, and strong temptations to wrestle with ; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, whose gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation ; and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve it

in winter evenings, and other leisure times ; and being now in the twenty-first year of my age, a man, in much business at shop-keeping and baking, asked me, if I would hire with him to tend shop and keep books. I acquainted my father with the proposal ; and, after some deliberation, it was agreed for me to go.

At home I had lived retired ; and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the Father of mercies, that he would preserve me from all taint and corruption ; that, in this more public employment, I might serve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial, with which I had been, in a small degree, exercised in a more private life. The man who employed me, furnished a shop in Mount Holly, about five miles from my father's house, and six from his own ; and there I lived alone and tended his shop. Shortly after my settlement here, I was visited by several young people my former acquaintance, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever ; and, at these times, I cried to the Lord in secret for wisdom and strength ; for I felt myself encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh occasion to bewail the follies of time past, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people : and as I had now left my father's house outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can express.

By day I was much amongst people, and had

many trials to go through ; but in the evenings, I was mostly alone, and may with thankfulness acknowledge, that in those times the spirit of supplication was often poured upon me ; under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my strength renewed.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotchmen servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mount Holly to sell ; one of whom was taken sick and died.

In the latter part of his sickness, he, being delirious, used to curse and swear most sorrowfully ; and the next night after his burial, I was left to sleep alone in the same chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness ; I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity ; and was not free to ask any one, on that occasion, to sleep with me. Nature was feeble ; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

After a while, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company ; and I began to be known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. And now, as I had experienced the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a succour to me through a sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted ; and as my heart was often enlarged, in this heavenly principle, I felt a

tender compassion for the youth, who remained entangled in snares like those which had entangled me, from one time to another. This love and tenderness increased; and my mind was more strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd; and one day being under a strong exercise of spirit, I stood up, and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the divine opening, I said more than was required of me; and being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could not take satisfaction in any thing. I remembered God, and was troubled; and, in the depth of my distress, he had pity upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet, being truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies; and after this, feeling the spring of divine love opened, and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace. This, I believe, was about six weeks from the first time: and as I was thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the *pure spirit* which inwardly moves upon the heart, *and taught me to wait in silence sometimes many weeks together*, until I felt that rise which pre-

pare the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to his flock.

From an inward purifying, and stedfast abiding under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others. All the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but wherever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the conditions of others.

This truth was early fixed in my mind; and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed, lest, while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom, and depart from the channel of the true gospel ministry. In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble *amongst those which are visible*. And being *clearly convinced* in my judgment, that to place *my whole trust in God* was best for me, I felt renewe

engagements, that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further, than as truth opened my way therein.

About the time called Christmas, I observed many people from the country, and dwellers in town, who, resorting to public-houses, spent their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was much disorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to go and speak to the master of that house. I considered I was young, and that several elderly friends in town had opportunity to see these things; but though I would gladly have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exercise was heavy; and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly; and then with prayers and tears, I besought the Lord for his assistance, who in loving-kindness, gave me a resigned heart. Then, at a suitable opportunity, I went to the public-house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I went to him, and told him, I wanted to speak with him; so we went aside, and there, in the *fear and dread of the Almighty*, I expressed to *him what rested on my mind*; which he took *kindly*, and afterward shewed more regard to me *than before*. In a few years afterwards, he dis

middle-aged; and I often thought, that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society, who bought her; so, through weakness, I gave way, and wrote it; but, at the executing it, I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said, before my master and the friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This, in some degree, abated my uneasiness; yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer, if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was. And some time after this, a young man of our society, spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him; he having lately taken a negro into his house, I told him, I was not easy to write it; for, though many of our meeting and in other places kept slaves, I still believed the practice was not right; and desired to be excused from the writing. *I spoke to him in good will; and he told me, the*

keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable
mind ; but that the slave being a gift made
wife, he had accepted her.

CHAPTER II.

His first journey, on a religious visit, into East Jersey, in company with Abraham Farrington.—His thoughts on merchandizing, and his learning a trade—His second journey with Isaac Andrews into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.—His third journey with Peter Andrews, through part of the West and East Jersey.—Some account of his sister Elizabeth, and her death.—His fourth journey with Peter Andrews, through New York and Long Island, to New England.—And his fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the Eastern shore of Maryland, and the lower Counties on Delaware.

My esteemed friend Abraham Farrington, being about to make a visit to friends on the eastern side of this province, and having no companion, he proposed to me to go with him ; and after a conference with some elderly friends, I agreed to go. So we set out the fifth day of the ninth month, in the year 1743 ; had an evening meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our society dwelt ; the room was full, and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house ; to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of assembly, *they being in town on the public affairs of the province.* In both these meetings my ancient com-

panion was enlarged to preach, in the love of the gospel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Raway, and Plainfield ; and had six or seven meetings in places where friends meetings are not usually held, being made up chiefly of Presbyterians, and my beloved companion was frequently strengthened to publish the word of life amongst them. As for me, I was often silent through the meetings ; and when I spake, it was with much care, that I might speak only what truth opened ; my mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case ; but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult ; but after some days deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject ; so that I exprest what lay upon me, in a way which became my youth and his years ; and though it was a hard task to me, it was well taken, and, I believe, was useful to us both.

Having now been several years with my employer, and he doing less at merchandize than hereto

fore, I was thoughtful of some other way of business ; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind through the power of truth, was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniences, that were not costly ; so that a way of life, free from much entanglement, appeared best for me, though the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but did not see may way clear to accept of them ; as believing the business proposed would be attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in.

I saw that an humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little ; and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving ; but that commonly with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant man at that business ; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting, that if I should settle, I might by this trade, and a little retailing of goods, get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my employer, and we soon agreed on terms ; and then when I had

leisure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with his man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business for me; and was taught to be content with it, though I felt at times, a disposition that would have sought for something greater; but, through the revelation of Jesus Christ, I had seen the happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deep into it; and at times this desire arose to a degree of fervent supplication, wherein my soul was so environed with heavenly light and consolation, that things were made easy to me which had been otherwise.

After some time, my employer's wife died; she was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours: and soon after this, he left shop-keeping, and we parted. I then wrought at my trade, as a tailor; carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline; and found an enlargement of gospel love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and being thoughtful about a companion, I expressed it to my beloved friend Isaac Andrews, who then told me that he had drawings to the same places; and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After considerable time past, and several conferences with him, I felt easy to accompany him throughout; if way opened for it. I opened the case in our monthly-meeting, and friends expressing their unity *therewith*, we obtained certificates to travel as

companions; his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

We left our province on the twelfth day of the third month, in the year 1746, and had several meetings in the upper part of Chester County, and near Lancaster; in some of which the love of Christ prevailed, uniting us together in his service. Then we crossed the river Susquehannah, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called the Red Lands; the oldest of which, as I was informed, did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer sort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deserts: with a small stock, they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate; that friends, who visit such, may well sympathise with them in their hardships in the wilderness; and though the best entertainment that such can give, may seem coarse to some who are used to cities, or old settled places, it becomes the disciples of Christ to be content with it. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongst these people; and the sweet influence of his spirit supported us through some difficulties: to Him be the praise.

We passed on to Manaquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanando, and had meetings; some of which were comfortable and edifying. From Shanando we set off in the afternoon for the old settlements of friends in Virginia; and the first night we, with our guide, lodged in the woods; our horses feed.

ing near us ; but he being poorly provided with horse, and we young, and having good horses were free the next day to part with him ; and so. In two days after, we reached our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia ; so we took the meeting in our way through Virginia ; were in some degree, baptized into a feeling sense of the condition of the people ; and our exercise in general more painful in these old settlements, than it had been amongst the back inhabitants : but through the goodness of our heavenly Father, the well living waters was, at times, opened to our encouragement, and the refreshment of the sincere hearted. We went on to Perquimons, in North Carolina ; had several meetings, which were large and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance amongst the young people. So we turned again to Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we had not been before, labouring amongst friends in the love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given : and then we went to the mountains, up James's river to a new settlement : and had several meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our society.

In our journeying to and fro, we found some honest-hearted friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of truth among a backsliding people.

From Virginia, we crossed over the river Pamlico, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general visit to

meetings of friends on the western shore of Maryland; and were at their quarterly meeting. We had some hard labour amongst them, endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened, in the love of truth: and thence taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed homewards; where, through the favour of Divine Providence, we reached the sixteenth day of the sixth month, in the year 1746; and I may say, that through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: First, in regard to my entertainment; when I ate, drank, and lodged free-cost with people, who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burthen, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burthens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them, in private, concerning it. Secondly: this trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children *generally living without much labour, was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts.* An

I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and the way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though many willingly run into it, yet in future consequence will be grievous to posterity; I express it as it hath appeared to me, not at one nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increased concern for friends on our sea-coast; and on the eighth day of the eighth month, in the year 1717, with the unity of friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour Peter Andre's brother to my companion before-mentioned, we set forward and visited meetings generally at Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbor, and had meetings at Barnagat, Manahockin, and Manes Squan, and so to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury. Through the goodness of the Lord, the way was opened, and the strength of divine love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewsbury yearly meeting, we were with our dear friends Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good service there.

The winter following died my eldest sister Elizabeth Woolman, jun. of the small-pox, at *thirty-one years*. She was, from her youth, of a *thoughtful disposition*; and very *compassionate*

her acquaintance in their sickness or distress, being ready to help as far as she could. She was dutiful to her parents; one instance whereof follows:— It happened that she, and two of her sisters, being then near the estate of young women, had an inclination one first-day after meeting to go on a visit to some other young women at some distance off, whose company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expressed their desire to our parents, who were dissatisfied with the proposal, and stopped them. The same day, as my sisters and I were together, and they talking about their disappointment, Elizabeth expressed her contentment under it, signifying she believed it might be for their good.

A few years after she attained to mature age, through the gracious visitations of God's love, she was strengthened to live a self-denying exemplary life, giving herself much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may show, in some degree, her disposition:

Haddonfield, 1st-day, 11th month, 1743.

Beloved brother John Woolman,

In that love which desires the welfare of all men, I write unto thee. I received thine, dated second-day of the tenth month last, with which I was comforted. My spirit is bowed with thankfulness that I should be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodness is extended to the meanest of his creation; therefore, it

his infinite love, he hath pitied and spared and showed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite lost; but at times, I am refreshed and comforted as with the glimpse of his presence, which is more to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford: so, with desires for thy preservation with my own, I remain

thy affectionate sister,

ELIZ. WOOLMAN, jun.

The fore part of her illness she was in great sadness and dejection of mind, of which she told one of her intimate friends, and said, when I was a young girl I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented for it; and added, I have of late had great satisfaction in meetings. Though she was thus disconsolate, still she retained a hope, which was as an anchor to her: and some time after, the same friend came again to see her, to whom she mentioned her former expressions, and said, "It is otherwise now, for the Lord hath rewarded me seven-fold; and I am unable to express the greatness of his love manifested to me." Her disorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being sorrowful, she took notice of it, and said, "Dear mother, weep not for me; I go to my God:" and many times, with an audible voice, uttered praise to her Redeemer.

A friend coming some miles to see her the morning before she died, asked her how she did? she answered "*I have had a hard night, but shall not*

have another such, for I shall die, and it will be well with my soul;" and accordingly died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found amongst her writings ; written, I believe, at four times.

1. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

2. O Lord, that I may enjoy thy presence ; or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul.

3. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me.

4. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy presence, that I may be seasoned with thy salt, that thy grace may abound in me.

Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit friends in New England, and having an opportunity joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews ; we, having obtained certificates from our monthly meeting, set forward on the twentieth day of the third month, in the year 1747, and reached the yearly meeting at Long Island ; at which were our friends Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoskins, and Elizabeth Hudson from Pennsylvania, Jacob Andrews from Chesterfield. Several of us were favoured in their public exercise ; through the goodness of the Lord, we had edifying meetings. After this, my companion and I visited friends on Long Island ; and,

through the mercies of God, we were helped the work.

Besides going to the settled meetings of friends we were at a general meeting at Setawket, which was made up of other societies : and had a meeting at Oyster Bay, in a dwelling-house, at which we gathered many people ; at the first of which there was much said by way of testimony, but it was, I believe, a good meeting : at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having visited the island, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way, to Oblong, Nine-partners, and New Milford. In these back settlements we met with several people, who, through the immediate workings of the spirit of Christ on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with him : they were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that society, were used to spend their time often together in merriment, but some of the principal young men of that company being visited by the powerful workings of the spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up his cross, could no longer join in those vanities ; and as these stood stedfast to that inward conviction, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions ; so that, through the power of truth, several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls. *These young people continued for a time*

to frequent their public worship; and besides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them: but, in time, their judgement in matters of religion disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that society; and such of them who stood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through: and their meetings were in a while dropped; some of them returning to the Presbyterians, and others of them, after a time, joined to our religious society.

I had conversation with some of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship, which is performed in spirit and in truth. From hence, accompanied by Amos Powel, a friend from Long Island, we rode through Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by presbyterians, who were generally civil to us, so far as I saw, and, after three days riding, we came amongst friends in the colony of Rhode Island. We visited friends in and about Newport, and Dartmouth, and generally in those parts; and then to Boston; and proceeded eastward as far as Dover: and then returned to Newport; and not far from thence, we met our friend, Thomas Gawthrop, from England, who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there near a week; and from thence came over to Dartmouth: and, having

finished our visit in these parts, we crossed the sound from New London to Long Island ; and, taking some meetings on the island, proceeded homeward ; where we reached the thirteenth day of the seventh month, in the year 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may say, in general, we were sometimes in much weakness, and laboured under discouragements ; and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of divine love, we had seasons of refreshment, wherein the power of truth prevailed.

We were taught, by renewed experience, to labour for an inward stillness : at no time to seek for words, but to live in the spirit of truth, and utter that to the people which truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged both to one meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work. He was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burthen, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding a concern to visit friends in the lower counties of Delaware, and on the eastern shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved ancient friend John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and set off the seventh day of the eighth month, in the year 1748, were at the meetings of friends in the lower counties, attended *the yearly meeting at Little Creek, and made a*

visit to most of the meetings on the eastern shore ; and so home by the way of Nottingham : were abroad about six weeks ; and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exercise at times was heavy ; but through the goodness of the Lord, we were often refreshed : and I may say, by experience, "He is a strong hold in the day of trouble." Though our society, in these parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition ; yet I believe, the Lord hath a people amongst them, who labour to serve him uprightly, but have many difficulties to encounter.

CHAPTER III.

His marriage.—The death of his father.—His journies into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania.—Considerations on keeping slaves, and his visits to the families of friends at several times and places.—An epistle from the general meeting.—His journey to Long Island.—Considerations on trading and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel. And his letter to a friend.

ABOUT this time believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeable to his will; and he was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis; to whom I was married the eighteenth day of the eighth month, in the year 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years.

In his life time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina, in the year 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves, which some time before his decease I shewed him ; and he perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account : in his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, whether I expected soon to proceed to take the advice of friends in publishing it ? and, after some conversation thereon, said, I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the poor negroes ; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever.

By his direction, I had written his will in a time of health, and that night he desired me to read it to him, which I did ; and he said it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end, which he believed was now near ; and signified, that, though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of truth, and of the love and goodness of God from time to time, even till now, was such, that he had no doubt but that, in leaving this life, he should enter into one more happy.

The next day, his sister Elizabeth came to see him, and told him of the decease of their sister Anne, who died a few days before ; he then said, *I reckon sister Anne was free to leave this world?*

Elizabeth said she was. He then said, I also am free to leave it : and being in great weakness of body said, I hope I shall shortly go to rest. He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible till near the last.

On the second day of the ninth month, in the year 1751, feeling drawings in my mind to visit friends at the great Meadows, in the upper part of West Jersey, with the unity of our monthly meeting, I went there ; and had some searching laborious exercise amongst friends in those parts and found inward peace therein.

In the ninth month of the year 1753, in company with my well esteemed friend, John Sykes and with the unity of friends, we travelled about two weeks, visiting friends in Bucks County. We laboured in the love of the gospel, according to the measure received ; and, through the mercie of him, who is strength to the poor who trust in him, we found satisfaction in our visit. In the next winter, way opening to visit friends families within the compass of our monthly meeting, partly by the labours of two friends from Pennsylvania I joined in some part of the work, having had a desire some time that it might go forward amongst us.

About this time, a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves ; and, asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them as slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employment and as offending sober people was disagreeable

my inclination, I was straitened in my mind ; but, as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his testimony : and I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not right, and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind ; that, though many in our society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it ; and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord ; and he made no reply to what I said, but went away : he, also, had some concerns in the practice ; and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had fresh confirmation, that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a motive of divine love, and inward regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurred the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure, better than silver, and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

The manuscript before-mentioned having laid by me several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me ; and this year I offered it to the revisal of friends, who, having examined and made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be published and dispersed amongst friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to friends' families belonging to Chesterfield monthly-meeting ; and having the approbation of our own, I went to their monthly-meeting in order to confer with friends, and see if

way open for it. I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning ; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness, I kept my distress secret ; and going with a friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction ; and in the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, being very low in my mind : and as mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before Him, He was pleased graciously to afford help ; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service ; part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was several weeks in the same service ; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend John Sykes : and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that through the goodness of the Lord, our hearts were, at times, enlarged in his love ; and strength was given to go through the trials which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent ; and an epistle to friends went forth from our general spring meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

An EPISTLE from our general spring meeting of ministers and elders for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the twenty-ninth of the third month, to the first of the fourth month, inclusive, 1755.

To Friends on the Continent of America.

Dear Friends,

IN an humble sense of divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly salute you ; and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the truth, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that life which is the light of men, and be strengthened to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers." Isa. xl. 22.

We being convinced that the gracious design, of the Almighty in sending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it

in heaven, have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to him, the Most High, whose tender love to his children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to his seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Heb. xiii. 5. And as we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on, "not by *earthly* might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts : " Zech. iv. 6. by which operation, that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever. In a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, stability, and peace, there is in it, we are desirous that all who profess the truth, may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct ourselves in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession : and we trust, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," Zech. ix. 10. to the completion of those prophecies already begun, that nation shall not lift up a sword against "nation, nor learn war any more." Isa. ii. 4. Micah iv. 3.

And, dearly beloved friends, seeing we have *these promises*, and believe that God is beginning

fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surging cares of this life, and redeemed from the e of the world, that no earthly possessions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us in that resignation, and entire trust in God, to which his blessing is most surely annexed ; then if we say, Our Redeemer is mighty, he will plead our cause for us." Jer. l. 34. And if, in the farther promoting his most gracious purposes in the earth, he should give us to taste of that bitter cup which his faithful ones have often partaken of ; O ! that we may be rightly prepared to receive it !

And now, dear friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat ; but repose ourselves in the munition of that rock that all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to certify that which remains in any of us which is of this world ; for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made partakers of the spirit of it ; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it.

but they who are single to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, these shall rejoice in the midst of adversity, and have to experience with the prophet, that, although the figtree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet will *they* rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of *their* salvation. Hab. iii. 17, 18.

If, contrary to this, we profess the truth, and not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves, therein our confidence will be vain. For he who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reason of the wild grapes it produced, (Isa. v. 5.) remains unchangeable: and if, for the chastisement of wickedness, and the further promoting his own glory, he doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose him and prosper!

We remain, in the love of the gospel, your friends and brethren.

Signed by fourteen friends.

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves, having been a means of sundry small trials to me, in which I have so evidently felt my own will set aside, I think it good to mention a few of *them*. *Tradesmen* and retailers of goods, who

depend on their business for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good-will of their customers ; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under any necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and more especially of such who have a fair reputation. Deep-rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered ; but it is the duty of all to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable, benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motives than the negro's good ; but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness, necessary rightly to exercise such power : hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn, in which some children are made absolute masters over others during life.

About this time, an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood, came to my house to get his will written ; he had young negroes ; and I asked him privately how he purposed to dispose of them. He told me : I then said, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace ; and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have written it ; but as I could not, consistently with my conscience, he did not desire it ; and so he got it written by some *other person*. And a few years after, there being

great alterations in his family, he came again get me to write his will. His negroes were young; and his son to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine, become a sober young man; and he supposed that I would have been free, on that account, write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it: and a few days after he came again, and directed their freedom; and I wrote his will.

Near the time the last mentioned friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body, and sent for me to bleed him; which being done, he desired me to write his will. I took notes; and amongst other things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end; so I wrote his will, save only that part concerning his slave, and carrying it to his bed-side, read it to him: and then told him in a friendly way, that I could not write any instruments by which my fellow-creatures were made slaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done, and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed. We then had a serious conference on the subject; at length he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to visit friends on Long Island, after obtaining a certificate from our monthly-meeting, I set off on the twelfth

day of the fifth month, in the year 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of my dear friend Richard Hallet. The next day, being the first day of the week, I was at the meeting in New Town; in which we experienced the renewed manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ, to the comfort of the honest-hearted. I went that night to Flushing; and the next day, in company with my beloved friend Matthew Franklin, we crossed the ferry at White Stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the Island; where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in those parts, who are honestly inclined to serve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing the cross in such faithfulness as he calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private; and, at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that subject; expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion, and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week, their yearly meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarborough, Jane Hoskins, and Susannah Brown, from Pennsylvania. The public meetings were large and measurably favoured with divine goodness.

The exercise of my mind, at this meeting, was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the society: and in a meeting of ministers and elders, way opened, that I expressed in some measure what lay upon me; and at a time when friends were met for transacting the affairs of the church, having sat a while silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and, through the gracious regard of our heavenly Father, strength was given fully to clear myself of a burden, which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for his service. The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so reverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach: and in the weakness of nature, thought of desisting from his prophetic office; but saith he, "His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay." I saw at this time, that if I was honest in declaring that which truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of divine love was manifested; *in an humbling sense whereof I went home: having been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.*

While I was out on this journey, my heart was much affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces; and, believing the Lord was calling me to some further labour amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before him, with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself up to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, besides following my trade as a tailor; about which time, I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens; and, at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the road to large business appeared open; but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living: I had but a small family; and, on serious considerations I believed truth did not require me to engage in much cumbering affairs: it had been my general practice to buy and sell things really useful: things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and, whenever I did, I found it weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burden; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandize, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers: and there w

now a strife in my mind between the two ; and in this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to his holy will. Then I lessened my outward business ; and as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to : and in a while wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade as a tailor ; myself only, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple trees ; in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating. In merchandize it is the custom, where I lived, to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt ; and when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having often observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people, to take such goods as were most useful, and not costly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of seeing, that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors, and the custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniences ; and these two things appear to be often connected one with the other ; for by not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us. And by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is *even among such who are not drunkards, a craving of some liquors to revive the spirits ; that*

partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, (led to it through immoderate labour,) very great quantities of rum are every year expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

Where men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members in a family or civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied; and where such, whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw to the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows; this also, as it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers, is a case to be lamented.

As every degree of luxury hath some connexion with evil; for those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them, which was also in Christ, and so stand separate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat, and taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience, that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for divine meditation as when all such extremes are avoided; and I b

felt an increasing care to attend to that holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires; and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did such who have the care of great estates, attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind, that men love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage, without finding occasion to employ some people in the luxuries of life, or to make it necessary for others to labour too hard; but for want of steadily regarding this principle of divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness, and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ; yet, through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they, who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe: "Seeketh thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

In the winter, this year, I was engaged with friends in visiting families; and, through the goodness of the Lord, we had oftentimes experience of his heart-tendering presence amongst us.

A copy of a Letter written to a friend.

In this thy late affliction, I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee; and had a secret hope throughout, that it might please the Father of mercies to raise thee up, and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou, being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish, may feel the clothing of divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting truth.

We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and, from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy, find an impossibility to advance forward; but things impossible with men are possible with God; and, our wills being made subject to his, all temptations are surmountable.

This work of subjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace; which, through fervent heat, is reduced from its first principle: "He refines them as silver is refined—he shall sit as a refiner, and purifier of silver." By these comparisons, we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore Him, and manifest that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that spirit in all its workings, which is not of Him. *To forward this work, the all-wise God is sometimes*

pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death; that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction, which other-wise would not be received. If kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then he, who is perfect goodness, in sending abroad mortal contagions, doth assuredly direct their use—Are the righteous removed by it? their change is happy: are the wicked taken away in their wickedness? the Almighty is clear: Do we pass through with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover, he intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now, on thy part, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again restored, forget not Him who hath helped thee; but in humble gratitude hold fast his instructions, thereby to shun those bye-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company, to which one in thy business must be exposed: I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can sympathize with others in such conflicts, in that much weakness still attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and commit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the simplicity of truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a snare. By halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd : that when we look at the way of the righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love clothes my mind while I write, which is superior to all expressions ; and I find my heart open to encourage a holy emulation, to advance forward in Christian firmness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark ; and as we enter into it, we find safety and true exaltation : the foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the abasement of the creature, therein we find that power to arise, which gives health and vigour to us."

CHAPTER IV.

His visiting the families of friends at Burlington.—His journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.—Considerations on the state of friends there ; and the exercise he was under in travelling among those so generally concerned in keeping slaves : with some observations in conversation, at several times, on this subject.—His epistle to friends at New Garden and Crane Creek.—His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of negroes.

The thirteenth day of the second month, in the year 1757, being then in good health, and abroad with friends visiting families, I lodged at a friend's house in Burlington ; and going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord ; in a sense whereof my heart was contrite. After this, I went to sleep again ; and sleeping a short time, I awoke ; it was yet dark, and no appearance of day nor moonshine ; and as I opened mine eyes I saw a light in my chamber, at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear easy brightness, and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still without any surprize looking upon it, words w

to my inward ear, which filled my whole man. They were not the effect of thought, y conclusion in relation to the appearance, the language of the Holy One, spoken in nd. The words were, CERTAIN EVIDENCE VINE TRUTH: and were again repeated ex- in the same manner, whereupon the light eared.

ling the exercise in relation to a visit to the rn provinces, to increase upon me, I acquaint- monthly meeting therewith, and obtained ertificate: expecting to go alone, one of my ers, who lived in Philadelphia, having some ss in North Carolina, proposed going with me f the way; but, as he had a view of some out- affairs, to accept of him as a companion seemed difficulty with me, whereupon I had conversa- ith him at sundry times; and, at length, feel- sy in my mind, I had conversation with several y friends of Philadelphia on the subject; e obtaining a certificate suitable to the occa- we set off in the fifth month of the year 1757; coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, d at John Churchman's; and here I met with iend Benjamin Buffington, from New Eng- who was returning from a visit to the south- rovinces. Thence we crossed the river Sus- nnah, and lodged at William Cox's in Mary- and, soon after I entered this province, e ad painful exercise came upon me which ad some feeling of since my mind

drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions.

As the people in this and the southern provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was, that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, which to me appeared to be the gain of oppression.

Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligation to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that divine prohibition: "Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the wise and perverteth the words of the righteous." Exod. xxiii 8. As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, *I could not see my way clear in that respect.* The difference appeared thus: the entertainment the disciples met with, was from such whose hearts

1 God had opened to receive them, from a love to
 2 them, and the truth they published ; but we, con-
 3 sidered as members of the same religious society
 4 look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each
 5 other in such visits ; and such reception, at times,
 6 is partly in regard to reputation and not from an
 7 inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more
 8 convincing than language, and where people, by
 9 their actions, manifest not that the slave-trade is
 10 so disagreeable to their principles but that it may
 11 be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with
 12 some freinds who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and being so
 distinguished from many whom I esteemed before
 myself, brought me very low ; and such were the
 conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy
 with the prophet, in the time of his weakness when
 he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray
 thee, if I have found favour in thy sight," Num. xi.
 15. but I soon saw that this proceeded from the
 want of a full resignation to the divine will. Many
 were the afflictions which attended me ; and in great
 abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the
 Almighty, for his gracious and fatherly assistance ;
 and then, after a time of deep trial, I was favoured
 to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist,
 more clearly than ever I had before ; to wit :
"My soul is even as a weaned child." Psal.
 cxxxi. 2. Being thus helped to sink down in
 resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tem-
 in which I had been sorely exercised, and in

ness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled, even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it, would obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me: and as I copy this after my return, I may here add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus: when I expected soon to leave a friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them; and at other times, I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. As I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces; and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people was a trial both to me and them; but the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some talk, accepted of them.

The seventh day of the fifth month, in the year 1757, I lodged at a friend's house; and the next day, being the first of the week, was at Potapac

meeting ; then crossed Patuxent river, and lodged at a public house.

On the ninth, breakfasted at a friend's house ; who, afterward, putting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves ; in which my heart was tender, and I used much plainness of speech with him, which he appeared to take kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the yearly meeting in Virginia ; and, in my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, thus : O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me. On the eleventh day of the fifth month, we crossed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal ; and on the way we happening in company with a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves ; the former, in my view, being the most happy life ; with which he concurred, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful, disposition of the negroes ; adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied, that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families ; but

groes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation, I said, that men having power, too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the christians, I however believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally: which he did not deny; but said, the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there. I only said, there is great odds in regard to us, on what principle we act; and so the conversation on that subject ended: and I may here add, that another person, some time afterwards, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I then replied, if compassion on the Africans, in regard to their domestic troubles were the real motives of our purchasing them, that the spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly; that as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy amongst us; and as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same *help and comfort* from the holy scriptures as we do, *we could not omit* suitable endeavours to instruct them therein; but while we manifest by our conduct, that our views in purchasing them are to ad-



vance ourselves; and while our buying captives taken in war, animates those parties to push on that war and increase desolation amongst them; to say they live unhappy in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favour. And I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; that the slaves look like a burthensome stone to such who burthen themselves with them; and that if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us: at which the person appeared very serious; and owned, that in considering their condition, and the manner of their treatment in these provinces, he had some times thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having thus travelled through Maryland, we came amongst friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the twelfth day of the fifth month; and the next day rode, in company with several friends, a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the want of divine aid to support me, in the various difficulties which attended me: and in uncommon distress of mind, I cried in *secret to the Most High*, "O Lord be merciful, beseech thee to thy poor afflicted creature." At some time, I felt inward relief; and soon aft

friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said, the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark God set upon him, after he murdered Abel his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was: then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which, I replied in substance as follows: that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said, that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod, and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant or servants to his brethren, these two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations; and it was granted, that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose they were spared: as to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family, before Ham married a second time: moreover the text saith, "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth." Gen. vii. 21. I further reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declare, "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father: but every one be answerable for

his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations ; and in some pressure of spirit said, the love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable ; and added, I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth : and as I believe liberty is their right, and see that they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He, who is a refuge for the oppressed, will, in his own time, plead their cause ; and happy will it be for such, who walk in uprightness before Him : and thus our conversation ended.

On the fourteenth day of the fifth month I was at Camp Creek monthly-meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James-River, and had a meeting at a friend's house ; in both which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongst friends in those places. From thence I went to Fork Creek, and so to Cedar Creek again ; at which place I now had a meeting. Here I found a tender seed ; and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the Truth ; the same truth in their hearts answered it, that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, Father of William Standley, one of the young men who

suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer on account of their testimony against fighting ; and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp-meeting, and to Wayanoke-meeting ; and then crossed James-River, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me that my mind was almost overwhelmed ; and I may say with the psalmist, "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God ;" who, in infinite goodness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief ; for which I humbly bless his holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches brought a weight of distress upon me : the gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed ; and though this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath, in a particular manner, borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to an inward desolation ; and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness, and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed. From small beginnings in errors, great buildings, by degrees, are raised ; and *from one age to another are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people ; and then obtain reputation by their profession of it*

truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah arise to that height in wickedness as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, "that none call-eth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth," Isaiah lix. 4; or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem, just before the Babylonish captivity, "If ye can find a man, if there be any who executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it." Jer. v. 1. The prospect of a road lying open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this newly settled land of America, in respect to our conduct towards the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and though to briefly relate how these people are treated is no agreeable work; yet, after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them. Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of the negro marriages; and when negroes marry after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages that with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder; which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. *Many whose labour is heavy, being followed, at their business in the field, by a man with a whip hired for that purpose, have in common little e*

allowed but one peck of Indian corn and some salt for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labour on the first day of the week.

The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarce clothes enough to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked amongst their master's children; some of our society, and some of the society called New-lights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but, in common, this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life: these are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of: these are the souls for whom Christ died, and, for our conduct toward them, we must answer before him who is no respecter of persons.

They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God *is kindled against* oppression and cruelty; and, in *beholding the great distress of so numerous a people, will find cause for mourning.*

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet resigned state; and, after long silence, I felt an engagement to stand up; and, through the powerful operation of divine love, we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black Water; and so to the yearly-meeting at the western Branch: when business began, some queries were considered, by some of their members, to be now produced; and, if approved, to be answered hereafter by their respective monthly-meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia yearly-meeting appointed the last year, who made some alterations in them; one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me. The query was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them after imported? which they altered thus: "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say, that as we professed the truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned their alteration; and, referring the last mentioned query, added, as purchas-

To Friends at their monthly-meeting at New Garden and Cane Creek, in North Carolina.

Dear friends,

It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of truth. First, my dear friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits, and seeking the friendships, of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace; such walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting: their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treasures, thus collected, do many times prove dangerous snares to their children.

But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of his Holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through a divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others; and in this condition, through the spreading influence of divine love, they feel a care over the flock; an

way is opened for maintaining good order in the society. And though we meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth comes fresh in my way. Dear young people, choose God for your portion; love is truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such who serve Him in uprightness; and shun, as most dangerous, the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill savour; for by frequenting such company, some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater, to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we partake of, in fully resigning ourselves to the divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and as your minds are thus seasoned with the truth, you will find strength to abide stedfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbe

amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech you, in the love of Jesus Christ, to wisely consider the force of your examples, and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country ; yea, a great favour and a blessing, when customs first settled, are agreeable to sound wisdom ; so when they are otherwise, the effect of them is grievous ; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of true wisdom, are useful both to mind and body ; so, by these means in general the real wants of life are easily supplied : our gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other, that keeping in the medium we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them ; which affects the family, and such as claim the mastery over them : and thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there is a large number of friends in your parts, who have no slaves ; and, in tender and most affectionate love, I beseech you *to keep clear from purchasing any. Look, my dear friends, to divine Providence ; and follow simplicity that exercise of body, that plainness,*

frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such who are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on a true principle of virtue, are sweet in the possession; and, while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and satisfaction. Here, neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor a throbbing uneasy conscience, nor anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of it.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors; if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before him, we may consider it as his gift to us; and, with a single eye to his blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain ways of true virtue. The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever." Isa. xxxii. 17.

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us; for he is a strong hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in him.

*Isle of Wight County, in Virginia,
29th of the 5th month, 1757.*

From the yearly meeting in Virginia, I went to Carolina ; and on the first day of the sixth month, was at Wells monthly meeting, where the spring of the gospel ministry was opened, and the love of Jesus Christ experienced amongst us : to his name be the praise.

Here my brother joined with some friends from New Garden, who were going homeward ; and I went next to Simons Creek monthly meeting, where I was silent during the meeting for worship ; and when business came on, my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves ; but did not feel my way clear to speak. In this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord ; and with tears and inward supplication besought Him, so to open my understanding, that I might know his will concerning me ; and, at length, my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business, a member of their meeting expressed a concern, that had some time lain upon him, on account of friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves ; and proposed having meetings some times appointed for them on a week day, to be only attended by some friends to be named their monthly meetings ; many present appeared to unite with the proposal. One said, he had wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures and capable of religious understanding, had been exceedingly neglected : another expressed the concern, and appeared zealous, that their future, might more closely consider it. A

a minute was made; and the further consideration of it referred to their next monthly meeting. The friend who made this proposal hath negroes: he told me, that he was at New Garden; about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; and that in this solitary journey, this exercise, in regard to the education of their negroes, was, from time to time, renewed in his mind. A friend of some note in Virginia, who hath slaves, told me, that he being far from home on a lonesome journey, had many serious thoughts about them; and that his mind was so impressed therewith, that he believed that he saw a time coming, when Divine Providence would alter the circumstance of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to Newbegun Creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness; then I felt truth open the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, till, at length, through the increase of divine love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. From thence to the head of Little River, on a first day, where was a crowded meeting; and, I believe, was through divine goodness, made profitable to some. Thence to the Old Neck; where I was led into a careful searching out of the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit, which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. From thence to Pineywoods: *this was the last meeting I was at in Carolina, as was large; and my heart being deeply engaged*

was drawn forth into a fervent labour amongst them.

When I was at Newbegun Creek, a friend was there who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and had been a minister many years. He came to me the next day; and as we rode together, he signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, and related it nearly as follows: to wit, that as monies had of late years been raised by a tax to carry on the wars, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it; and chose rather to suffer distraint of his goods than pay it; and as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy trial to him; and more so, for that some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case. He added, that from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of querying concerning friends in our parts: whereupon I told him the state of friends amongst us, as well as I was able; and also, that I had, for some time, been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord; and esteemed it my duty to preserve this note concerning him, Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward suffering; but, through the goodness of the Lord, I was made content: then to another

meeting; where, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortab'e season.

'Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord, and content with his will concerning me, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by a humble resignation, is united to him; and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and require close attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we may be led, may tend to our own abasement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

From thence I went to Curles meeting; which, though small, was reviving to the honest-hearted. Thence to Black Creek and Caroline meetings; from whence, accompanied by William Standley, before mentioned, we rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night, at a public-house; the second, in the woods; and the next day, we reached a friend's house, at Goose Creek. In the woods we lay under some disadvantage, *having no fire-works nor bells for our horses; but we stopped a little before night, and let them feed on the wild grass which was plentiful; in the m*

time cutting with our knives a store against night, and then tied them ; and gathering some bushes under an oak, we lay down : but the musketoes being numerous and the ground damp, I slept but little. Thus lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our first parents, when they were sent forth from the garden ; but the Almighty, though they had been disobedient, continued to be a father to them ; and showed them what tended to their felicity as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to Him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom, is good ; and the gift of improving in things useful, is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift ; and, from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world. But some not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and self-exaltation, sought out many inventions ; which inventions of men, as distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, as the first motion to them was evil, so the effects have been and are evil. At this day, it is as necessary for us constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents, when *they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.*

I was at a meeting at Goose Creek ; and next a monthly meeting at Fairfax ; where, through

gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Monoquacy and Pipe Creek, in Maryland; at both which places I had cause humbly to adore Him, who supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others. There were some hopeful young people in those parts. Thence I had meetings at John Everit's in Monalen, and at Huntingdon; and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest-minded.

At Monalen, a friend gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonists; and, amongst other things, related a passage in substance as follows:—One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his waggon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him; but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and, afterwards meeting the Mennonist, told him of it; adding, he should have been heartily welcome at his house; and from their acquaintance in former time, wondered at his conduct in that case: the Mennonist replied, *ever since I lodged by thy field, I have wanted*

opportunity to speak with thee. The matter was; I intended to have come to thy house for entertainment, but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee; then admonished him to use them with more humanity; and added, as I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance, thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they.

Hence I was at three meetings in my way; and so I went home, under a humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me through many trials and afflictions in my journey. I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

CHAPTER V.

Considerations on the payment of a tax, laid for carrying on the war against the Indians.—Some notes on Thomas à Kempis and John Huss.—Meetings of the committee of the yearly meeting at Philadelphia.—The present circumstances of friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey very different from those of our predecessors.—The draughting of the militia in New Jersey to serve in the army; with some observations on the state of the members of our society at that time.—His visit to friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones.—Proceedings at the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves.

A FEW years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told, that friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conversation with several noted friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some whom I preferred before myself, and this made easier for a time, yet there was in the deeps

my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and, at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men, who paid such taxes; but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believed that the spirit of truth required of me, as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true christian spirit; as fully so, as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that church.

All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse; Jesus Christ appointing to each one his peculiar office, agreeable to his infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors crept into the church, in opposition to the council of Constance; which the historian reports to have consisted of some thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct towards his *judges* appear to have been respectful, yet he never *could be moved* from the principles settled in his *mind*. To use his own words; "This I most *humbly require* and desire of you all, even for b

“sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against.” And again, in his answer to the emperor; “I refuse nothing, most noble emperor, whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience.” Fox’s Acts and Monuments, page 233. At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue, and the inward spiritual religion : and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ.

True charity is an excellent virtue ; and sincerely to labour for their good, whose belief, in all points, doth not agree with ours, is a happy state. To refuse the active payment of a tax which our society generally paid was exceedingly disagreeable ; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty ; and, in my distress, I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow Him wheresoever He was pleased to lead me. And under this exercise

I went to our yearly meeting at Philadelphia, in the year 1755 ; at which a committee was appointed of some from each quarter, to correspond with the meeting for sufferings in London ; and another

to visit our monthly and quarterly meetings; and after their appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed in the meeting, that these two committees should meet together in friends school-house in the city, at a time then concluded on, to consider some things in which the cause of truth was concerned; and these committees meeting together, had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time, I perceived, there were many friends under a scruple like that before-mentioned.*

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application, hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time; I may here note some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world; and suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men, in every age, to take heed to their own spirit: and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me there was less danger of *their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes*, than there is of us now. They *had little or no share in civil government; and*

* *Christians refuse to pay taxes to support heathen temples. See Primitive Christianity, part III. page 321.*

many of them declared they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. Their profession, for a time, was accounted reproachful; but, at length, the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated; and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and sciences, amongst which are many things useful, being followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe will not be denied. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars. Such being in doubt whether to act, or crave to be excused from their office, seeing their brethren united in the payment of a tax to *carry on the said wars*, might think their case not much different, and so quench the tender moving of the Holy Spirit in their minds; and thus, in small degrees, there might be an approach toward

that of fighting, till we came so near it, as that the distinction would be little else, but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting, when wrongfully invaded ; if, by our fighting, there were a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it, does in some degree feel that spirit, in which our Redeemer gave his life for us ; and through divine goodness, many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson ; but many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the yearly meeting, a day being appointed, and letters written to distant members, the said committees met at Philadelphia ; and, by adjournments, continued several days. The calamities of war were now increasing ; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some slain, and many taken captive by the *Indians* ; and while these committees sat, the *corpse of one so slain was brought in a waggon, and taken through the streets of the city, in his bloo*

garments, to alarm the people, and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax ; which, to such who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time, might be construed an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England ; still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many friends, that nothing moved it. It was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at ; and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew ; others of them continued till the last ; at length, an epistle of tender love and caution, to friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn up by some friends concerned, on that subject ; and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such of them as were free to sign it, and afterward sent to the monthly and quarterly meetings.

On the ninth day of the eighth month, in the year 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington,) directing them to draught the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English, at Fort William Henry, in New York government : a few days after which there was a general review of the militia, at Mount Holly, an number of men chosen and sent off under

officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draught three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came : and, on the seventeenth day of the eighth month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on a draught ; and orders were sent to the men, so chosen, to meet their respective captains at set times and places ; those in our township to meet at Mount Holly ; amongst whom was a considerable number of our society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it ; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright hearted, to put them to trouble, on account of scruples of conscience, is a painful task, and likely to be avoided as much as easily may be : but where men profess to be so meek and heavenly minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot join in wars, and yet, by their spirit and conduct in common life, manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

Officers in great anxiety, endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors seeing men, who are insincere, pretend scruple of conscience in hopes of being excused from a d

gerous employment, they are likely to be roughly handled. In this time of commotion some of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over ; some came, and proposed to go as soldiers ; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near ; I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. At the set time when the captain came to town, some of those last mentioned went and told him in substance as follows : That they could not bear arms for conscience sake ; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event of it ; at length the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, and required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and to be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before ; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed this trial was intended for our good ; and I was favoured with resignation to him. The French army, taking the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away : the company of men first draughted, after some days march, had orders to return home ; and those on the second draught were no more called upon on that occasion.

On the fourth day of the fourth month, in the year 1758, orders came to some officers, in Mount Holly, to prepare quarters, a short time, for about one hundred soldiers : and an officer and t

other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house ; and the officer told me, that he came to speak with me, to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly ; but sat a time silent, my mind being inward : I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion ; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did ; and, after a short time, I said to the officer, if the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house : but the nature of the case is such, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire : one of the men intimated, that he thought I might do it consistent with my religious principles : to which I made no reply ; as believing silence at that time, best for me. Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly ; and when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me ; and, *as I turned from him, he said, he was obliged to me : to which I said nothing ; but, thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy ; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went and told him*

what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

Near the beginning of the year 1758 I went one evening, in company with a friend, to visit a sick person; and, before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who, of late, had several days been disconsolate, occasioned by a dream; wherein death, and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her mind in a moving manner: her sadness on that account, being worn off, the friend, with whom I was in company, went to see her, and had some religious conversation with her and her husband: with this visit they were somewhat affected; and the man, with many tears, expressed his satisfaction; and, in a short time after, the poor man being on the river in a storm of wind, he, with one more, was drowned.

In the eighth month of the year 1758, having had drawings in my mind to be at the quarterly-meeting in Chester county, and at some meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went first to said quarterly-meeting, which was large, and several weighty matters came under consideration and debate; and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of his servants with strength and firmness to bear the burden of the day. Though I said but little, *my mind was deeply exercised*; and under a sense of God's love, in the anointing and fitting some young men for his work, I was comforted, and *my heart was tendered before Him*. From hence

went to the youth's meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother Benjamin Jones met me, by an appointment before I left home, to join in the visit. And we were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth, and Abington meetings; and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The monthly-meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some friends who this summer (1758) had bought negro slaves, the said meeting moved it to their quarterly-meeting, to have their minute reconsidered in the yearly-meeting, which was made last on that subject: and the said quarterly-meeting appointed a committee to consider it, and to report to their next; which committee having met once and adjourned, and I, going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the yearly-meeting, was in town the evening on which the quarterly-meeting's committee met the second time; and, finding an inclination to sit with them, was, with some others, admitted; and friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next quarterly-meeting, I heard that the case was coming to our yearly-meeting; which brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire

alone; and put up my prayers to the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased to strengthen me; that setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his holy will.

In this yearly meeting, several weighty matters were considered; and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer; and I could say with David, "that tears were my meat day and night." The case of slave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when this case was opened, several faithful friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said, in substance, as follows:

"In the Difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire, that in this weighty matter, we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the society, than any medium not in the clearness of divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have them; but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or ever from holding them together, when truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that"

will know how to steer through those difficulties."

Many friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work ; and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of truth, and universal righteousness on the earth. And though none did openly justify the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned, lest the meeting should go into such measures, as might give uneasiness to many brethren ; alledging, that if friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord, in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of these people ; and I finding an engagement to speak, said, " My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments ; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases. where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that He cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness, He hath opened our understandings from one time to another, concerning our duty towards this people ; and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what He requires of us, and *through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy*

still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance ; it may be by terrible things in righteousness, God may answer us in this matter."

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness ; and the love of truth, in a good degree, prevailed. Several friends, who had negroes, expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such friends as offenders who bought slaves in future : to this it was answered, that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at, until a thorough search was made into the circumstances of such friends as kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several friends expressed their desire, that a visit might be made to such friends as kept slaves : and many friends said, that they believed liberty was the negroes right : to which, at length, no opposition was made publicly. A minute was made more full on that subject than any heretofore ; and the names of several friends entered, who were free to join in a visit to such as kept slaves.

CHAPTER VI.

His visiting the quarterly meetings in Chester countd; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in a visit to such as kept slaves there.—Some observations on the conduct such should maintain who are concerned to speak in meetings for discipline.—Several more visits to such as kept slaves; and to friends near Salem.—Some account of the yearly meeting in the year 1759, and of the increasing concern in divers provinces, to labour against buying and keeping slaves.—The yearly meeting epistle.—His thoughts on the small-pox spreading—and on inoculation.

On the eleventh day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, I set out for Concord; the quarterly-meeting, heretofore held there, was now by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of friends, at our last yearly meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends, Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby, from England, and with Joseph White, from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his family in order to go on a *religious visit* to friends in England; and, through *divine goodness*, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together. After this meeting, I joined with my friend

Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in visiting friends who had slaves; and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious, reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour; and thence to the burial of the corpse of a friend at Uwchland meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of divine favour, after which, we visited some who had slaves; and, at night, had a family meeting at a friend's house, where the channel of gospel love was opened; and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen monthly meeting; and thence, on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, attended the quarterly meeting at London Grove, it being the first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned friends, and had some edifying meetings. And near the conclusion of the meeting for business, friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under to attend principally to his business, as he is pleased to open it to us; and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; to have our outward affairs in as little room as may be; that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of truth, in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness.

amongst the children of men, in these days of calamity and distress, wherein God is visiting our land with his just judgments.

Each of these quarterly-meetings was large, and sat near eight hours. Here I had occasion to consider, that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business: for, except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder, business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid.

If selfish views, or a partial spirit, have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work: if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, it behoves us to avoid useless apologies and repetitions: where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; especially when they have sat six or seven hours, and have a great distance to ride home. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month of the year 1758 I joined in company with my friends, John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such as had slaves: some, whose hearts were rightly exercised about them, appeared to be glad of our visit; but in some places our way was more difficult; and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded; and have cause, in reverent thankfulness

ably to bow down before the Lord, who was
near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness
under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of
sympathy and tenderness in me toward some who
were grievously entangled by the spirit of this
world.

In the first month of the year 1759, having found
my mind drawn to visit some of the more active
members, in our society at Philadelphia, who had
lives, I met my friend John Churchman there,
by an agreement : and we continued about a week
in the city. We visited some that were sick, and
some widows and their families ; and the other
part of our time was mostly employed in visiting
each who had slaves—It was a time of deep exercise,
looking often to the Lord for his assistance ; who,
by an unspeakable kindness, favoured us with the in-
fluence of that spirit, which crucifies to the great-
ness and splendor of this world, and enabled us to
go through some heavy labours, in which we found
peace.

On the twenty fourth day of the third month,
of this year, I was at our general spring meeting
at Philadelphia : after which, I again joined with
John Churchman on a visit to some more who had
lives in Philadelphia ; and, with thankfulness
to our heavenly Father, I may say, that divine
love and a true sympathising tenderness of heart
revaileth at times in this service.

*Having, at times, perceived a shyness in some
persons, of considerable note, towards me, I four*

an engagement in gospel love to pay a visit to one of them ; and, as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go : so I went, and told him, in private, I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone ; to which he readily agreed : and then, in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom ; and we had a large conference, which I believe, was of use to both of us, and am thankful that way was opened for it.

On the fourteenth day of the sixth month, in the same year, having felt drawings in my mind to visit friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our monthly-meeting therein, I attended their quarterly-meeting, and was out seven days, and at seven meetings ; in some of which I was chiefly silent, and in others, through the baptizing power of truth my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and found a near fellowship with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

In the seventh month, I found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our society who had slaves ; and having no opportunity of the company of such as were named in the minutes of the yearly meeting, I went alone to their houses, and, in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under : and thus, sometimes, by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden.

After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves; I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our yearly meeting in the year 1759, we had some weighty seasons; where the power of truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As friends read over the epistles, to be sent to the yearly meetings along this continent, I observed in most of them, both this year and last, it was recommended to friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves; and in some of them closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account; and, at times, in some meetings been almost alone therein; now observing the increasing concern in our religious society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness before Him. This meeting continued near a week: and, for several days, in the forepart of it, my mind was drawn into a deep, inward stillness; and being, at times, covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. And near the conclusion of the meeting for business, way opened, that, in the *pourings of divine love*, I expressed what lay up

me ; which, as it then arose in my mind, was "first to show how deep, answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright ; though, in their different growths, they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. And I was led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus : and yet, in some points, held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold ; and that in all ages where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with Him ; and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful and to avoid all superfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us. And that if such, who were, at times, under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity ; it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct." In which exercise I was drawn into a sympathizing tenderness, with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world ; and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meet

ing. Great is the goodness of the Lord towards his poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this yearly-meeting, which I think good to give a place in this journal ; being as follows :

From the yearly meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the twenty-second day of the ninth month, to the twenty-eighth day of the same, inclusive, 1759.

To the quarterly and monthly meetings of friends belonging to the said yearly meeting.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

“In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have long being continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires, that we may reverently regard the dispensations of his providence, and improve under them.

“The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh ; and deals with his people agreeable to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We, in these provinces may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them

the hearts of the natives; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influences of his Holy Spirit, that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives, and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion; and thereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessities of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

“If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gave us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquility and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the psalmist, “What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits?”

Our own real good, and the good of our posterity, in some measure, depend on the part we act; *and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially.* Such are the different rewards of the *just and unjust* in a future state, that, to attend *illegently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ,*

devote ourselves to his service, and engage fervently in his cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature ; we shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, " it is righteousness which exalteth a nation ;" and though he doth not at all times suddenly execute his judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see, by many instances, that where men follow lying vanities, they forsake their own mercies ; and as a proud selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy, and confusion increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee : know, therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that thy ruin is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts." Jer. ii. 19.

The God of our fathers who hath bestowed us many benefits, furnished a table for us in wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice ; He doth now mercifully call upon us to serve Him more faithfully—We may truly say with the prophet, " It is his voice which crieth in the wilderness, and men of wisdom see his nam-

They regard the rod, and Him who hath appointed it." People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but such who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, they see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading amongst the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in his visitations to us, instead of calling, lifteth up his voice and crieth: He crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief.—It is not long since it was the case of many young men in one of these provinces to be draughted, in order to be taken as soldiers; some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives have been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and

found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the truth's sake is experienced.— Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider that their care to get outward treasure for them, had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

Let us not forget that "The Most High hath his way in the deep, in clouds and in thick darkness"—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and oh! that these loud and awakening cries may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may, for a short time, afford a pleasing prospect; yet, while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness, which ever continues; if we desire, in this life, to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being, whose habitation is *in holiness*, whose ways are all equal, and whose anger is now kindled because of our backslidings, let us then awfully regard these beginnings of

sore judgments, and, with abasement and humiliation turn to him, whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in strength is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we persist to contend with him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity; and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution; and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our constant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue, let them see that we really value it: let us labour, in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions; that, as they advance in age, they may rightly understand their true interest, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being, who inhabits eternity, and preserves and supports the world.

In all our cares, about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind, that riches, possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation, which *stands in opposition to real peace and happiness; and renders those enemies to the cross of Christ, who submit to the influence of it.*

“ To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling places, to comfort them who, through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us, for, “ here we have no continuing city ;” may we therefore diligently “ seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God.”

Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report ; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you.”

Signed, by appointment, and on behalf of our said meeting, by seven friends.

On the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month, in the year 1759, I was at the quarterly-meeting in Bucks county. This day being the meeting of ministers and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ ; and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation, at my lodging, with my beloved friend, Samuel Eastburn: who express

concern to join in a visit to some friends, in that county, who had negroes ; and, as I had felt a draught in my mind to that work in the said county, I came home and put things in order. On the eleventh day of the twelfth month following I went over the river ; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting ; where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted, and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this visit appeared weighty : and before I left home my mind was often sad ; under which exercise I felt, at times, the Holy Spirit, which helps our infirmities ; through which, in private, my prayers were, at times, put up to God, that he would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members, throughout the county, who had negroes ; and, through the goodness of the Lord, my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England ; had also a family-sitting at the house e

an elder who bore us company, and was at Makefield on a first day. At all which times, my heart was truly thankful to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to renew his loving kindness to us, his poor servants, uniting us together in his work.

In the winter of this year, the small-pox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of whom a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follow :

The more fully our lives are comformable to the will of God, the better it is for us—I have looked on the small-pox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we employ our time only in such things as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness.

Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures ; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us. And under these general heads, are many branches of business, in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, it incites me to think, whether this business is a real, indispensable duty ; whether it is not in conformity to some custom, which would be better laid aside ; or, whether it *does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after some outward treasure.* If the business before me *springs not from a clear understanding, and a*

gard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves ; to be brought to a sense of it, and stopped in my pursuit, is a kindness ; for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found, by experience, that it tends to weakness.

If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think, whether my manner of life, in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort, and in no other degree, than was designed by Him, who gave these creatures for our sustenance ? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed ? Do I use action enough in some useful employ ? Or, do I sit too much idle, while some persons, who labour to support me, have too great a share of it ? If, in any of these things, I am deficient, to be incited to consider it, is a favour to me.

There is employ necessary in social life ; and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think, whether these social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any selfish views ? If I go to a religious meeting, it puts me on thinking, whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty ; or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or parti-

from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people ; and whether to support my reputation as a religious man, has no share in it.

Do affairs, relating to civil society, call me near this infection ? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life ; and it becomes me to think seriously, whether love to truth, and righteousness is the motive of my attending ; whether the manner of proceeding, is altogether equitable ; or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or distinctions among men, do not stain the beauty of those assemblies, and render it doubtful, in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not.

Whenever there are blemishes, which, for a series of time, remain such ; that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities, to see health and soundness restored in our country, may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that means.

The care of a wise and good man for his only, is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of universe for his creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature ;

"doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Chastisement is intended for correction, and instruction being received by chastisement, greater calamities are prevented.

By an earthquake, hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, and multitudes of people perish suddenly; and many more being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, and great numbers of people perished in a short time, and many more pressed with poverty and grief.

By the pestilence, people have died so fast in a city, that through fear, grief, and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins.

By famine, great numbers of people in some places, have been brought to the utmost distress, and pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus, where the kind invitations, and gentle chastisements, of a gracious God hath not been attended to, his sore judgments have, at times, been poured out upon people.

While some rules, approved in civil society, and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of truth and righteousness: while many professing truth are declining from that ardent love and heavenly-mindedness, which was amongst the primitive followers of *Jesus Christ*; it is a time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and consider the most deep and inward design of them. *The most High* doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears; but, if we have

bly meditate on his perfections, consider that He is perfect wisdom and goodness, and to afflict his creatures to no purpose, would be utterly reverse to his nature, we shall hear and understand his language ; both in his gentle and more heavy chastisements ; and take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape his hand by means too powerful for us.

Had He endowed men with understanding to hinder the force of this disease, by innocent means, which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to our bodies, such discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended. But as life and health are his gifts, and not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us, when in health, a distemper, of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge, that it is our duty to do so.

CHAPTER VII.

His visit, in company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, &c. in New England—Remarks on the slave trade at Newport, and his exercise on that account; also on lotteries—some observations on the island of Nantucket.

HAVING, for some time past, felt a sympathy in my mind with friends Eastward, I opened my concern in our monthly meeting; and, obtaining a certificate, set forward on the seventeenth day of the fourth month, in the year 1760, joining in company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved friend, Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahaway, and Plainfield; and were at their monthly meeting of ministers and elders in Rahaway. We laboured under some discouragement; but, through the invisible power of truth, our visit was made reviving to the lowly minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on and visited chief of the meetings on Long Island. *It was my concern, from day to day, to say no more nor less than what the spirit of truth opened to me, being jealous over myself, lest I should say any thing to make my testimony look agree*

able to that mind in people, which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low ; and, through the subjecting power of truth, we were kept low with it ; and from place to place, such whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ, appeared to be comforted in our labours ; and, though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet, through his goodness, who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings, and in families, where we tarried ; and sometimes found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those, whose station in families, or in the society was such, that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed truth. At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows :

24th of the 4th month, 1760.

“ Dearly beloved wife,

“ We are favoured with health ; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey, and on this island ; My mind hath been much in an inward, watchful frame, since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our heavenly Father.

“ As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outw

cheerfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord :"—as this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have considered that his internal presence on our minds, is a delight of all others the most pure ; and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He who regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals his love to his children under affliction, they delight in beholding his benevolence, and feeling divine charity moving upon them. Of this I may speak a little ; for though since I left you, I have often found an engaging love and affection towards thee and my daughter, and friends about home, that going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me ; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in captivity, for whose sake my heart is, at times, moved with compassion ; that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me ; which, though small, compared with some, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned towards my fellow creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who I trust cares for you ; and under a sense of his heavenly love, remain,

"Thy loving husband,
"J. W."

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat ; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, that to me it appeared dangerous ; but my mind was, at that time, turned to Him, who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to Him : and as He was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day, as a day lent to me ; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset ; and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependance on him through deep exercises, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country, where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private, concerning their slaves ; and, through divine aid, I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this concern, I appear singular from many, whose service in travelling, I believe, is greater than mine ; I do not think hard of them for omitting it ; I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him, who appoints to his servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, and had com

fortable sittings with them ; and in the afternoon attending the burial of a friend.

The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon ; where the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey ; but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made deep impression on me ; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in secret, that he would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully, in such way as He might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown, and Tanton, in our way to Boston, where also we had a meeting ; our exercise was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord.

We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out ; and, though we had some hard labour with the disobedient, laying things home and close to such as were stout against the truth ; yet, through the goodness of God, we had, at times, to partake of heavenly comfort with those who were meek, and are often favoured to part with friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston, and had another comfortable opportunity with friends there ; and hence rode back a day's journey eastward o'

Boston. Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my companion and I considering it, expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully took our leave of him ; this we did, as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horse.

We visited the meetings in those parts, and were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the society ; and in bowedness of spirit went to the yearly meeting at Newport ; where I understood that a large number of slaves was imported from Africa into that town, and then on sale by a member of our society. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shiply, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman, from our parts, all ministers of the gospel, of whose company I was glad.

At this time my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as there expressed. " When I heard my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble : " I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed ; and was desirous that friends might petition the legislature, to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves ; for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and bring distresses on the people in those parts, for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned.

But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning; and such was the exercise of my mind, that I had thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the house of assembly, then sitting in town.

This exercise came upon me in the afternoon, on the second day of the yearly meeting, and, going to bed, I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned therein; and in the morning I enquired of a friend how long the assembly was likely to continue sitting; who told me it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next.

As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the assembly were likely to depart before the business was over; after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the legislature, if way opened; and being informed that there were some appointed, by that yearly meeting, to speak with those in authority, in cases relating to the society, I opened my mind to several of them, and shewed them the essay I had made; and afterward opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:

“I have been under a concern for some time, on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony; I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of heaven without speaking

to it. I have prepared an essay of a petition, if way open, to be presented to the legislature ; and what I have to propose to this meeting is, that some friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting ; if they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to consider, whether to take any further notice of it as a meeting or not." After a short conference some friends went out, and looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read ; which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal ; and some signified, that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and to be signed out of meeting by such as were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first, that if it was done it would be in that way ; yet such was the exercise of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of friends when assembled, appeared to me as a duty ; for my heart yearned towards the inhabitants of these parts ; believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and a way made easy for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility, which is a sure resting place for the soul. And that the continuance of this trade, would not only render their *healing more difficult, but increase their malady.*

Having thus far proceeded, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst friends, for them to proceed

it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had once moved it in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of friends being held excused, who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now on moving it again, it was opposed as before ; but the hearts of some solid friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members ; and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me, that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confusion and darkness of understanding ; and that pleading for it in our meetings, set apart for the Lord's work, was not right ; and in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient friend said, which when I sat down, I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity ; and after this, I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made ; a copy of which was agreed to be sent to their several quarterly-meetings, inciting friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the *ancient friend*, could not see my way clear to *conceal my uneasiness*, but was concerned that I might *say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured ; and then, after some close exercise and*

erty repentance, for that I had not attended close-
to the safe guide, I stood up, and reciting the
sage, acquainted friends, that though I dare
go from what I had said as to the matter, yet
was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, as
believing milder language would have been better.

This was uttered in some degree of creaturely
sincerity, it appeared to have a good savor
amongst us after a warm debate.

The yearly meeting being now over, there yet
remained on my mind a secret, though heavy ex-
ercise, in regard to some leading active members
at Newport, being in the practice of slave-
trading. This I mentioned to two ancient friends,
who came out of the country, and proposed to
them, if way opened, to have some conversation
with those friends. And thereupon, one of those
country friends and I, consulted one of the most
respected elders who had slaves; and he, in a respect-
ful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear
myself of what lay upon me. Now I had, near
the beginning of the yearly meeting, a private con-
ference with this said elder and his wife, concern-
ing theirs; so that the way seemed clear to me, to
confer with him about the manner of proceeding.
Told him, I was free to have a conference with
them all together in a private house; or if he
thought they would take it unkind to be asked to
come together, and to be spoken with in the hear-
ing of one another, I was free to spend some time
with them, and visit them all in their own house.

He expressed his liking to the first proposal, doubting their willingness to come together; and as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers; he named some others, whom he desired might be present also. And as a careful messenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses to open the matter to them; and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning, we met in the meeting-house chamber, and the last mentioned country friend, also my companion, and John Sturges, with us; when, after a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and so we proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exertion was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was *utterly* handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. And, at length feeling my mind released from that burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them, in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their *negatives* after their decease, I believed that a good *season* was spreading amongst them; and I was *thankful* to God, who supported my *mission*.

preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou, who sometimes travellest in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, and seest many tokens of their satisfaction, in having thee for their guest, it is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people: if we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom, and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have seen that, in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward interests, is hard labour; and sometimes, when I have felt truth lead toward it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship; and as the sense thereof hath abased me, and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his sake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burthen of the word in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, *without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship; this tends to undermine the foundation of true unity.*

The office of a minister of Christ is
And they who now go forth as watchmen
need to be steadily on their guard against
snares of prosperity, and an outside friends

After the yearly meeting, we were at
at Newtown, Cushnet, Long Plain, Redman,
and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed
Nantucket, in company with Ann Guant,
Redman, and several other friends. Time
being slack, we only reached Tarpaulin
the first day; where, going on shore, we had
room in a public-house, and beds for a few
the rest sleeping on the floor. We went on
again about break of day; and though the
was small, we were favoured to come within
four miles of Nantucket; and then about
getting into our boat, we rowed to the
before dark; whereupon a large boat
brought in the rest of the passengers about
night. The next day but one, was their
meeting, which held four days; the last of
was their monthly meeting for business.
a labourous time amongst them; our minds
closely exercised, and I believe it was a
great searching of heart. The longer I was
island, the more I became sensible that there
a considerable number of valuable friends
*though an evil spirit, tending to strife, both
at work amongst them.* I was cautious of
*any visits, but as my mind was particularly
to them; and in that way we had seen*

in friends' houses, where the heavenly wing was, at times, spread over us, to our mutual comfort.

My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day, if the weather was suitable and we well ; and being called up the latter part of the night, we went on board a vessel, being in all about fifty ; but the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered ; so we returned on shore. And feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in our chamber chiefly alone ; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my heavenly Father, for his help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. And while I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women friends, who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before ; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the friend, who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the gospel : and the next morning about break of day, going again on board the vessel, we reached *Falmouth on the Main* before night, where our horses being brought, we proceeded towards *Sandwich quarterly meeting*.

Being two days in going to Nantuck having been there once before, I observe shoals in their bay, which make sailing dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, great shoal, which encloses their harbour, for their going in with sloops, except when the tide is up; waiting without which, for the rising tide, is sometimes hazardous in storms: within, they sometimes miss a fair wind. I noticed, that on that small island was a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile, the timber so gone, that for vessels, fence, and firewood, they depend chiefly on the buying from the Main; the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery to answer. I considered, that if the towns grew larger, and lands near navigable water more cleared, timber and wood would require much labour to get it. I understood that the deer, being much hunted, and sometimes wounded but not killed, grew more shy and difficult to catch. I considered that the formation of the ear of the seas, the Islands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds, and great waters, which cause breakers and shoals in particular places, were all the work of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness. As people attend to His heavenly instructions, and put their trust in Him, He provides for them in all parts, where He gives them a being. In this visit to these people, I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation of His word.

besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women friends, in their monthly meeting of business, many being present; and in the fresh spring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the disuse of all superfluities, reminding them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea; and that the more plain and simple their way of living was, the less need of running great hazards to support them in it; encouraging the young women in their neat decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; shewing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, that it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmness of mind, than they have had, who aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves in it. And as I observed, they had few or no slaves amongst them, I had to encourage them to be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations, which frequently attended the minds of people, who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the quarterly meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Merredman, which was preceded by a month

meeting ; and in the whole held three days ; we were various ways exercised amongst them in gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us ; and were at times, overshadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the sincere ; and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time ; and reaching Newport the evening before their quarterly meeting, we attended it ; and, after that, had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labour in this town ; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace ; and was, in some degree, comforted, in a belief, that a good number remain in that place, who retain a sense of truth ; and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting, in which friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was a select meeting ; and, through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love, the hearts of the sincere were united together.

That poverty of spirit, and inward weakness, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me as a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me ; and I was led in to a deep search, whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God ; often query

with myself, what should be the cause of such inward poverty ; and greatly desired, that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the divine fountain. in these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to some duties, that in more easy and prosperous times, as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick ; and were helped to labour amongst friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer : and then, accompanied by our friend, John Casey, from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings of friends in those parts, and thence proceeded to the quarterly-meeting at Ryewoods ; and, through the gracious extendings of divine help, had some season-
ing opportunities in those places : so we visited friends at New York and Flushing ; and thence to Rahaway : here, our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion, and true yoke mate, Samuel Eastburn ; and reached home on the tenth day of the eighth month, 1760, where I found my family well : and, for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments ; and I find renewed desires *to dwell and walk in resignedness before him.*

CHAPTER VIII.

His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury, and Squan.—His publishing the second part of his considerations on keeping negroes.—His visiting the families of friends of Ancoas and Mosey Holly meetings.—His visits to the Indians at Wehahoosing on the river Susquehanna.

HAVING felt my mind drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off: and, on the tenth day of the fifth month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting, concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home, or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there, through the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two quarterly and three monthly-meetings; and, in the love of truth, felt my way open to labour with some noted friends, who kept negroes: and, as I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavoured to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time, and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

In the eighth month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to visit friends in and about Shrewsbury; I went there, and was at their monthly meeting, and their first-day meeting; and had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squanquam; and, as way opened, had conversation with some noted friends concerning their slaves. And I returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of the Lord.

From the care I felt growing in me some years, I wrote Considerations on keeping Negroes, part the second; which was printed this year, 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they offered to get a number printed, to be paid for out of the yearly meeting stock, and to be given away; but I being most easy to publish them at my own expense, and offering my reasons, they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious society in general; amongst whom are some who keep negroes, and being inclined to continue them in slavery, are not likely to be satisfied with those books being spread amongst a people where many of the slaves are taught to read, and especially not at their expense; and such, often receiving them as a gift, conceal them. But as they who make a purchase, generally buy that which *they* have a mind for, I believed it best to *sell them*; expecting, by that means, they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements being signed by order of the ov

seers of the press, directed to be read in meetings of business within our own yearly. ing, informing where the books were, and the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them, many were taken off in our some I sent to Virginia, some to New York some to Newport, to my acquaintance there some I kept, expecting to give part of them where there appeared a prospect of service.

In my youth I was used to hard labour though I was middling healthy, yet my nature not fitted to endure so much as many others being often weary, I was prepared to sympathize with those whose circumstances in life, as frequently required constant labour to answer the demands of their creditors; and with others under oppression. In the uneasiness of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression which is imposed on many in the world. At the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on a plantation, my heart, through the fresh vision of heavenly love, being often tender; and no spare time frequently spent in reading the liberal doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the accounts of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our society;—a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that if such as had gifts and talents, generally lived in that humility and meekness which belong to a Christian life,

much easier rents and interests on their lands and monies and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labour, both for men and other creatures, would need to be no more than an agreeable employ ; and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which, at present, seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might, in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued. And, as I have thus considered these things, a query, at times, hath arisen : Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then there hath some degree of sadness, at times, come over me, for that I accustomed myself to some things, which occasioned more labour than I believe divine wisdom intends for us.

From my early acquaintance with truth I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me, against the operation of the heavenly principle ; and in this circumstance have been affected with a sense of my own wretchedness, and in a mourning condition felt earnest longing for that divine help, which brings the soul into true liberty ; and sometimes in this state, retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me ; and under a heavenly covering, I have asked my gracious Father, to give *a heart in all things resigned to the direction of wisdom.*

In visiting people of note in the society had slaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the Lord has affected me, that a conformity to some customs, distinguishable from pure wisdom, has enticed many; and the desire of gain to support these customs, greatly opposed the work of truth. Sometimes when the prospect of the work before me has been such, that in bowedness of spirit I have been drawn into retired places, and before the Lord with tears that he would take me under his direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk; it hath revived with strengthened conviction, that if I would be his faithful servant, I must in all things attend to his wisdom, and be teachable; and so cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used amongst religious people.

As He is the perfection of power, of wisdom, and of goodness; so I believe, he hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for support in this world, as would, being rightly directed, be a suitable employment of their strength, and that we cannot go into superfluities, or after wealth, in a way contrary to his will, without having connexion with some degree of oppression, and with that spirit which leads to contention, exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries, by parties contending about their claims.

On the thirty-first day of the fifth month I was taken ill of a fever; and, after having

a week, I was in great distress of body, and one day there was a cry raised in me, that I might understand the cause why I was afflicted, and improve under it: and my conformity to some customs, which I believed were not right, was brought to my remembrance; and in the continuance of the exercise, I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being; and was made thankful, that He had taken hold of me by his chastisement; feeling the necessity of further purifying, there was now no desire in me for health, until the design of my correction was answered; and thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit, and as I felt a sinking down into a calm resignation, so I felt, as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature; and from that time forward I grew better.

In the eleventh month of the year 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the second month, 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, on a visit to the families of friends at Ancocas; in both which visits, through the baptizing power of truth, the sincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of friends opened to receive us. And in the fourth month following, I accompanied some friends in a visit to the families of friends at Mount Holly; in which my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness, wherein strong de-

were raised for the everlasting welfare of fellow-creatures ; and through the kindness of heavenly Father, our hearts were, at times enlarged, and friends invited, in the flowings of divine love, to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

Having many years felt love in my heart toward the natives of this land, who dwell far back in wilderness, whose ancestors were the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell ; and when for a small consideration, assigned their inheritance to us : and being at Philadelphia in the eighth month, 1761, on a visit to some friends who were slaves, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at an Indian town called Wehalaos, two hundred miles from Philadelphia ; and by conversation with them by an interpreter, as well as by observations on their countenances and conduct, I believed some of them were made acquainted with that divine power which subdues the rough and froward will of the creature. At times, I felt inward drawings toward a visit to that place, of which I told none except my wife, until it came to some ripeness, and then in the winter of 1762, I laid it before friends at our *monthly* and quarterly, and afterwards at our *general spring* meeting ; and having the united *friends*, and being thoughtful about an *Indian pilot*, there came a man and three women *little beyond* that town to Philadelphia.

ness : and I being informed thereof by letter, met them in town in the fifth month, 1763 ; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, I, by the concurrence of friends in that place, agreed to join with them as companions in their return ; and on the seventh day of the sixth month following, we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland in Bucks county. Now as this visit felt weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of Divine Providence, in preparing my mind for it, have been memorable ; and I believe it good for me to give some hints thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unusual sadness ; in which times, my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly support, that I might not fail to follow him where-soever He might lead me : and being at our youth's meeting at Chresterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to his Father : "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil," And in attending to the pure openings of truth, had to mention what He elsewhere said to his Father ; "I know that thou hearest me at all times : " so that, as some of his followers kept their places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from e and as some of those met with great hardship

afflictions in this world; and at last suffered by cruel men; it appears, that whatsoever I men while they live in pure obedience to God it certainly works for their good, so it may be considered an evil as it relates to them. . . spake on this subject, my heart was much troubled, and great awfulness came over me; and on the first day of the next week, being at my own afternoon meeting, and my heart being enkindled in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to mention of that passage where a band of Assyrians endeavouring to take captive the prophet, disappointed; and how the psalmist said, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him." And thus, in true love and tenderness I parted from friends, expecting, the next morning, to proceed on my journey, and, being weary, went early to bed. After I had been asleep a short time, I was awaked by a man calling at my door; and, arising, was invited to meet some friends at a public house in our town, who came from Philadelphia, so late that friends were generally gone to bed: these friends informed me, that the express arrived the last morning from Pittsburgh and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English westward, and had slain and scalped English people in divers places, some of the said Pittsburgh; and that some elderly friends in Philadelphia, knowing the time of my going to set off, had conferred together, and

good to inform me of these things, before I left home, that I might consider them, and proceed as I believed best ; so I, going again to bed, told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly instruction ; and it was an humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it ; but, in a few hours time, my mind became settled in a belief, that it was my duty to proceed on my journey ; and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit, there were great searchings of heart, and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be, in the least degree, attended to, but that of the pure spirit of truth.

The subjects before-mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public, were now very fresh before me ; and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as he saw best. So I took leave of my family and neighbours, in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our monthly-meeting at Burlington ; and, after taking leave of friends there, I crossed the river, accompanied by my friends, Israel and John Pemberton ; and, parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's, where I met the before-mentioned Indians, and we were glad to see each other : here my friend, Benjamin Parvin, met me, and proposed joining as a companion, we having passed some letters before on the subject ; and now, on his account, I t

a sharp trial; for, as the journey appeared perilous, I thought, if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties would add to my own afflictions: so, I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but, after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go, on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me: it was, indeed, a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit, that he could not be easy to leave me; so we went on, accompanied by our friends, John Pemberton, and William Lightfoot of Pikeland, and lodged at Bethlehem; and there, parting with John, William and we went forward on the ninth day of the sixth month, and got lodging on the floor of a house, about five miles from Fort Allen: here we parted with William; and at this place we met with an Indian trader, lately come from Wyoming; and in conversation with him I perceived that many white people do often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe, is a great evil; first, they being thereby deprived of the use of their reason, and their spirits violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief; and the bitterness and resentment occasioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance: again, *their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, when they become intoxicated, they often sell at a low rate for more or*

and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who, for the sake of gain, took the advantage of their weakness: of this their chiefs have often complained, at their treaties with the English. Where cunning people pass counterfeits, and impose that on others which is good for nothing, it is considered as a wickedness; but to sell that to people which we know does them harm, and which often works their ruin, for the sake of gain, manifests a hardened and corrupt heart; and is an evil, which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to suppress. While my mind this evening, was thus employed, I also remembered, that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; who venture to the outside of a colony, that they may live more independent on such as are wealthy, who often set high rents on their land: being renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to sound wisdom, labouring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be easy for our inhabitants, though much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on honest employments, without having that temptation they are often under, of being drawn into schemes to *make settlements on lands which have not been purchased of the Indians, or of applying to the wicked practice of selling rum to them.*

On the tenth day of the month we set out in the morning, and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehigh near Fort Allen. The water being high, we went over in a canoe. Here we met an Indian, and had some friendly conversation with him, and gave some biscuit; he having killed a deer, gave the Indians with some of it. Then after travelling some miles we met several Indian men and women with a canoe and horse, and some household goods, who had lately come from their dwelling at Wioming, going to settle at another place; we made them some small presents; and some of them understanding English, I told them my motive in coming into their country; with which they appeared satisfied: and one of our guides talking away with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. So going on, we pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge, and by the roughness of the stones, and the cavities between them, and the steepness of the hills it appeared dangerous. But we were served in safety, through the kindness of Indians, whose works in these mountainous deserts appeared awful, toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees for that purpose, were various representa-

men going to, and returning from the wars, and of some killed in battle. This being a path heretofore used by warriors; and as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red, but some in black; and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce, spirit produceth in the world; thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors, travelling over mountains and deserts; thinking on their miseries and distresses when wounded far from home, by their enemies; and of their bruises and great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains; and of their restless, unquiet state of mind, who live in this spirit, and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of those nations engaged in war with each other; during these meditations, the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people arose very fresh in me. This was the first night that we lodged in the woods; and being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground, our tent, and the bushes which we proposed to lay under, our blankets also wet, all looked discouraging; but I believed, that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that He would dispose of me as He saw good, and therein I felt easy. So we kindled a fire, with our tent open to it; and with *some bushes* next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed, and lying down, got some sleep; and in the morning, feeling a little unwell

went into the river; the water was cold, but so after I felt fresh and well.

The eleventh day of the sixth month, the being wet, we tarried in our tent, till about eight o'clock; when going on, crossed a high mountain supposed to be upwards of four miles over, the steepness on the north side exceeding all the others; we also crossed two swamps, and it being near night, we pitched our tent and lodged.

About noon, on our way, we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren going to Wehalaosing, and an Indian man with him, who could talk English, and we being together while our horses ate grass, had some friendly conversation; but they travelling faster than we, soon left us. The Moravian, I understood, had spent some time this spring at Wehalaosing; and was, by some of the Indians, invited to come again.

The twelfth day of the sixth month, and first of the week, it being a rainy day, we continued in our tent; and here I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended my Love was the first motion, and thence a conceit arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life, and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth amongst them: and, as it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when troubles of war were increasing, and when

reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual at that season, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to season my mind, and bring me into a nearer sympathy with them: and as mine eye was to the great Father of mercies, humbly desiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horse, though hopped, went away in the night; and after finding our own, and searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and, about seven hours after, returned with him: and here we lodged again; tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

On the thirteenth day of the sixth month, the sun appearing, we set forward; and as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alterations of the circumstances of the natives of this land since the coming in of the English. The lands near the sea, are conveniently situated for living; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the running of the rivers, makes passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. Those natives have, in some places, trifling considerations, sold their inheritance favourably situated; and in other places, been driven back by superior force. So that, in many places, as their way of clothing themselves is now different from what it was, and they, far removed

from us, have to pass over mountains, swamps, and barren deserts, where travelling is very troublesome, in bringing their skins and furs to trade with us.

By the extending of English settlements, and partly by English hunters, the wild beasts they chiefly depend upon for a subsistence, are not so plentiful as they were ; and people too often, for the sake of gain, open a door for them to waste their skins and furs, in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires were now very much broken, and my heart, with much earnestness, turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me. I had a prospect of the English along the coast, for upwards of nine hundred miles, where I have travelled ; and the favourable situation of the English, and the difficulties attending the natives in many places, and the negroes, were open before me ; and a weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart towards all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement, that we might be obedient to the Lord, while in tender mercies, he is yet calling to us ; and so attend to pure universal righteousness, as to give no just cause of offence to the gentiles, who do not profess Christianity, *whether the blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent*: here I was led into a *close laborious enquiry*, whether I as an individual *kept clear from all things which tended to stir*

connected with wars, either in this land of ; and my heart was deeply concerned, that, e, I might in all things keep steadily to the uth, ~~and~~ live and walk in the plainness and ity of a sincere follower of Christ. And, lonely journey, I did, this day, greatly be- ne spreading of a wrong spirit, believing, ne prosperous, convenient, situation of the y, requires a constant attention to divine love isdom to guide and support us in a way able to the will of that good, gracious, and ity Being, who hath an equal regard to all id : and, here, luxury and covetousness, with merous oppressions, and other evils attend- em, appeared very afflicting to me ; and I

that which is immutable, that the seeds of calamity and desolation are sown and grow- t on this continent : nor have I words suffi- o set forth that longing I then felt, that we, re placed along the coast, and have tasted ve and goodness of God, might arise in his h ; and, like faithful messengers, labour to the growth of these seeds, that they may en to the ruin of our posterity.

reached the Indian settlement at Wioming : re we were told, that an Indian runner had it that place a day or two before us, and t news of the Indians taking an English fort rd, and destroying the people, and that they deavoured to take another ; and also, th Indian runner came there about the mid

of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles from Wehalaosing, and brought news, that some Indian warriors, from distant parts, came to that town with two English scalps, and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our guides took us to the house of a very ancient man; and, soon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian house some distance off; and I, perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he having a tomahawk wrapped under his matchcoat out of sight, as I approached him, he took it in his hand; I, however, went forward, and speaking to him in a friendly way perceived he understood some English. My companion then coming out, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts: and then he going into the house with us, and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, and sat down and smoked his pipe. Though his taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him, had a disagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged, that what Indians were about Wioming expected in a few days to move to some large towns, I thought that, to all outward appearance, *was dangerous travelling at this time; and*

after a hard day's journey, brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back and view over the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit; and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilful disobedience; and then as I believed I had, under a sense of duty, come thus far, I was now earnest in spirit, beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation, as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace arising on my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Thus I lay, full of thoughts, great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and slept by me, till the Lord, my gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased to give quietness: then I was again strengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands; and getting a little sleep toward day, when morning came we arose.

On the fourteenth day of the sixth month, we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with, they being chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged, in all perhaps twenty. Here I expressed the care I had on my mind for their good, and told them, that true love had made me willing thus to leave my family to come and see the Indians, and speak with them in their houses. Some of them appea

kind and friendly. So we took our leave of these Indians, and went up the river Susquehanna, about three miles, to the house of an Indian, called Jacob January, who had killed his hog; and the women were making a store of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the spring, which, lying dry, was leaky; so that we, being detained some hours, had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family; and eating dinner with them, we made them some small presents: then putting our baggage in the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses; and swimming them over a creek, called Lahawahamunk, we pitched our tent above it, there being a shower in the evening. In a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to trust in Him, I lay down in an humble bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

On the fifteenth day of the sixth month, we proceeded forward till the afternoon, when a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place, and we staid all night, the rain continuing so heavy that it beat through our tent, and wet us and our baggage.

On the sixteenth day, we found on our way *abundance of trees blown down by the storm yesterday; and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a safe*

place for us in a valley while this storm continued. By the falling of abundance of trees across our path, we were much hindered, and in some swamps our way was so stopped that we got through with extreme difficulty.

I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in this world ; and a belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support his people in their pilgrimage, felt comfortable to me ; and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation.

We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river : and this afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English, and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river ; and understanding where we expected to lodge, pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night ; and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work pushing up the stream. Job told us, that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday, and told them, that three warriors coming from some distance, lodged in a town above Wehaloosing, a few nights past ; and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province-store at Shamokin.

Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet, through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way living from what I had been used to, I grew si

and the news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith; and though through the strength of divine love, I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the divine disposal, I still found the want of my strength to be renewed, that I might persevere therein; and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

On the seventeenth day, parting from Job Chilaway, we went on, and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon. The first Indian that we saw, was a woman of a modest countenance, with a Bible, who first spake to our guide; and then, with an harmonious voice, expressed her gladness at seeing us, having before heard of our coming: then, by the direction of our guide, we sat down on a log, and he went to the town, to tell the people we were come. My companion and I sitting thus together, in a deep inward stillness the poor woman came and sat near us; and great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After while, we heard a conkshell blow several times and then came John Curtis, and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found I suppose, about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting a short time I stood up, and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit, and

concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them: all in a few short sentences, which some of them understanding, intrepated to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I shewed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bid me welcome.

On the eighteenth day, we rested ourselves this forenoon; and the Indians knowing that the Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay awhile with them, were, I believe, concerned, that no jarring or discord might be in their meetings: and they, I suppose, having conferred together, acquainted me, that the people, at my request, would, at any time, come together, and hold meetings; and also told me, that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings, which are commonly held morning and near evening. So I found liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people; and that I believed no ill effects would follow it, if I sometimes spake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course.

Whereupon he expressed his good-will toward my speaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to say; so, near evening, I was at their meeting where the pure gospel love was felt, to the ten

ing of some of our hearts; and the interpreters endeavouring to acquaint the people with what I said, in short sentences, found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues, so they helped one another, and we laboured along, divine love attending. Afterwards feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright, He would hear me; and expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our meeting ended with a degree of divine love: and before the people went out, I observed Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender) spoke to one of the interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said in substance as follows: "I love to feel where words come from."

On the nineteenth day, and first of the week, this morning, in the meeting, the Indian who came with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed; and then the Moravian spake a short time to the people. In the afternoon they coming together, and my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters, that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded; in which exercise I believed the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to ed-

cation where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord ; and after I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited to give the Indians the substance of what I had said.

Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts ; and near a sympathy with them was raised in me ; and my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, does not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble ; and though, through the mercies of God, I believed, that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me ; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors were, in times of weakness, afflicting to me ; and, being of a tender constitution of body, the thoughts of captivity amongst them were, at times, grievous ; as supposing, that they being strong and hardy, might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear ; but the Lord alone was my keeper ; and I believed, if I went into captivity, it would be for some good end ; and *thus, from time to time, my mind was centered in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And now, this day, though I had the dangerous wilderness between me and home*

was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongst the Indians.

When the last-mentioned meeting was ended, it being night, Papunehang went to bed ; and one of the interpreters sitting by me, I observed Papunehang spake with an harmonious voice, I suppose, a minute or two : and, asking the interpreter, was told, that “ he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favours he had received that day ; and prayed that He would continue to favour him with that same, which he had experienced in that meeting.” Though Papunehang before agreed to receive the Moravians, and join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

On the twentieth day, I was at two meetings, and silent in them.

The twenty-first day. This morning, in meeting, my heart was enlarged in pure love amongst them, and, in short plain sentences, I expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily ; after which, the meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord towards us ; and then I *believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ to labour amongst these people.*

I now feeling my mind at liberty to return, took my leave of them in general, at the conclusion of what I said in meeting; and so prepared to go homeward: but some of their most active men told us, that, when we were ready to move, the people would choose to come and shake hands with us; which those who usually came to meeting did: and, from a secret draught in my mind, I went amongst some who did not use to go to meeting, and took my leave of them also; and the Moravian and his Indian interpreter appeared respectful to us at parting. This town stands on the bank of the Susquehanna, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together; some about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide, some bigger, some less; mostly built of split plank, one end set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters, and covered with bark. I understand a great flood last winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town stands; and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be our company; but, when we were ready to go, we found many of them were going for Bethlehem with skins and furs, who chose to go in company with us: so they loaded two canoes, which they desired us to go in, telling us, that the waters were so raised with the rains, that the horses should be taken by spe-
s were better acquainted with the fording place
we, with several Indians, went in the can

and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours. And we meeting with the horsemen once on the way by appointment, and then near night, a little below a branch called Tankhanna, we lodged there; and some of the young men, going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

On the twenty-second day, through diligence, we reached Wioming before night, and understood the Indians were mostly gone from this place. Here we went up a small creek into the woods with our canoes, and pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horses came to us.

On the twenty-third day in the morning their horses were loaded, and we prepared our baggage and so set forward, being in all fourteen; and with diligent travelling, were favoured to get near half way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wioming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass scarce, they chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for grazing; and I having sweat much in travelling, and being weary, slept sound; I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better soon.

On the twenty-fourth day we passed Fort Allen, and lodged near it in the woods.

We forded the westerly branch of Delaware three times, and thereby had a shorter way, and missed going over the top of the blue mountain

called the Second ridge. In the second time fording, where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, and my companion's mare being a tall tractable animal, he sundry times drove her back through the river, and they loaded her with the burdens of some small horses, which they thought not sufficient to come through with their loads.

The troubles westward, and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier, I apprehend, was one reason why so many came; as expecting that our being in company would prevent the outside inhabitants from being surprised.

On the twenty-fifth day we reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremost, and to acquaint people on and near the road who these Indians were. This we found very needful; for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of English being killed by Indians westward.

Amongst our company were some whom I did not remember to have seen at meeting, and some of these, at first, were very reserved; but, we being several days together, and behaving friendly towards them, and making them suitable returns for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

On the twenty-sixth day and first of the week having carefully endeavoured to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we leave of them, and I thought they generally

with us affectionately ; so we getting to Richland, had a very comfortable meeting amongst our friends. Here I parted with my kind friend and companion Benjamin Parvin ; and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, where I found my family middling well ; and they and my friends all along appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous ; but my mind, while I was out, had been so employed in striving for a perfect resignation, and I had so often been confirmed in a belief, that whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me, would work for good ; I was careful lest I should admit any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and Protector intends for me. Between the English inhabitants and Wehaloosing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with bushes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it, these, together with the mountains, swamps, and rough stones, make it a difficult road to travel ; and the more so, for that rattlesnakes abound there, of which we killed four. People who have never been in such places, have but an imperfect idea of them ; but I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led me about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation

CHAPTER IX.

His religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a jugler—His account of John Smith's advice, and of the proceedings of a committee, at the yearly meeting in 1764.—Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom, occasioned by hearing of the cruelties of the Indians to their captives.—His visiting the families of friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield, and Burlington, in 1764, and the meetings on the Sea coast from Cape May towards Squan in 1765.—His visit to the lower counties on Delaware, and the eastern shore of Maryland in 1766, in company with John Sleeper ; with some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers ; and observations on the different state of the first settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own labour, and those of the southern provinces who kept negroes.—His visiting the northern parts of New Jersey the same year, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767, and afterwards other parts of Pennsylvania and the families of friends at Mount Holly ; and again several parts of Maryland in 1768.—Further Considerations on keeping Slaves ; and his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the sale of one ; and what he did in consequence of it. Thoughts on friends exercising offices in government.

THE latter part of the summer, 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly, who had before published by a printed advertisement, that at a certain public-house, he would show many wonderful operations, which he therein enumerated.

This man, at the time appointed, did, by slight of hand, sundry things; which, to those gathered, appeared strange.

The next day, I, hearing of it and understanding that the show was to be continued the next night, and the people to meet about sun-set, felt an exercise on that account: so I went to the public-house in the evening and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then, sitting down by the door, I spake to the people, as they came together, concerning this shew; and, more coming and sitting down with us, the seats of the door were mostly filled; and I had conversation with them in the fear of the Lord, and laboured to convince them that, thus assembling to see those tricks or slights of hand, and bestowing their money to support men, who, in that capacity, were of no use in the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion.

There was one of the company who, for a time, *endeavoured by arguments to show the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of scripture, and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point.* So having spe

about an hour amongst them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

At our yearly meeting at Philadelphia, on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month, 1764, John Smith of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, stood up in our meeting of ministers and elders, and appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit informed friends in substance as follows: to wit, "That he had been a member of our society upwards of sixty years, and well remembered that in those early times friends were a plain lowly-minded people; and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings.—That at twenty years from that time, the society increasing in wealth and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general not so lively and edifying.—That at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; that wearing fine costly garments, and using silver (and other) watches became customary with them, their sons and their daughters, and many of the society made a specious appearance in the world; which marks of outward wealth and greatness, appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders; and as these things became more prevalent, so the powerful *overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the society.*—That there had been a *continued increase of these ways of life even until now and that the weakness which hath now oversp*

the society, and the barrenness manifest amongst us, is matter of much sorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending these meetings in future, expecting his desolution was now near; and having tenderly expressed his concern for us, signified that he had seen in the true light, that the Lord would bring back his people from these things into which they were thus degenerated, but that his faithful servants must first go through great and heavy exercises therein.

On the twenty-ninth day, the committee, appointed by the yearly-meeting to visit the quarterly and monthly meetings, gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that service; in which they signified, that in the course of it, they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offices in government, inconsistent with our principles, and others, who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings of discipline, had been one means of weakness more and more prevailing in the management thereof in some places. After this report was read, an exercise revived on my mind, which, at times, had attended me several years, and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me, that the fear of man might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and, standing up, I spake in substance as follows: "I have felt a tenderness in my mind, towards persons, in two circumstances mentioned in that report; that is, towards such active members as keep slaves, and such as hold offices in civil government; and ha

desired, that friends, in all their conduct, may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many friends, who keep slaves, are under some exercise on that account; and, at times, think about trying them with freedom; but find many things in their way. And the way of living, and annual expences of some of them, are such, that it seems impracticable for them to set their slaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have observed in some places, at quarterly and yearly meetings, and at some houses where travelling friends and their horses are often entertained, that the yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable. And friends, in some places, crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment, hath often rested as a burthen on my mind for some years past; and I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that friends now present may duly consider it."

In the fall of this year, having hired a man to work I perceived in conversation that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent; and in the evening, giving a narrative of his captivity amongst the Indians, he informed me that he saw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner.

This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed; and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of divine was spread over my mind; in which I had

renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above, which leads to a right use of all gifts, both spiritual and temporal, and gives content therein; under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows :

“Hath He, who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute creatures, given me a capacity superior to theirs? and shown me that a moderate application to business is proper to my present condition; and that this, attended with his blessing, may supply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds He hath fixed; and that no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit, should have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom, as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers in this world!

“Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others, which themselves would rather be excused from, were the same required of them?

“Do these proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and in the end inflict terrible pains on their fellow-creatures, and spread desolation in the world?

“Do mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each other's happiness? And do these creatures, capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their wit and strength to afflict and destroy one another?

“Remember then, O my soul! the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it!

“Doth he condescend to bless thee with his presence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee, and walk in thee? Remember then thy station, as a being sacred to God. Accept of the strength freely offered thee; and take heed that no weakness, in conforming to expensive, unwise and hard-hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple, and graciously grant that I may be sacred to Him? Oh! that I may prize this favour; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character!

“Remember, O my soul; that the prince of peace is thy Lord; that He communicates his unmixed wisdom to his family; that they, living in perfect simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any creature, but may walk as He walked!”

Having felt an openness in my heart toward visiting families in our own meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it in our monthly meeting the forepart of the winter 1764; which being agreed to, and several friends of our meeting being united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through divine favour were helped in the work, so that appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly amongst friends; and the latter part of the

winter, I joined my friend William Jones, in a visit to friends' families in Mansfield; in which labour, I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord toward us.

Having felt my mind drawn toward a visit to friends along the sea-coast from Cape May to near Squan; and also to visit some people in those parts, amongst whom there is no settled worship; I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, in a visit there, having friends' unity therein. And setting off the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month, 1765, we had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey; feeling at times, through the goodness of the heavenly Shepherd, the gospel to flow freely toward a poor people scattered in those places. And soon after our return, I joined my friends John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in visiting friends' families at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our society in that city; and we had cause humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the state of the people, and strengthened us to labour in true gospel love amongst them.

An exercise having, at times, for several years attended me, in regard to paying a religious visit to friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; such was the nature of this exercise, that I believed the Lord moved me to travel on foot amongst them, *that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of the*

masters, and he more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse.

The time now drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our monthly meeting, I perceived in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he was under a concern to travel the same way, and also to travel on foot in the form of a servant amongst them, as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise.

We being thus drawn the same way, laid our exercise and the nature of it before friends; and obtaining certificates, we set off the sixth day of the fifth month, 1766; and were at meetings with friends at Wilmington, Duck Creek, Little Creek, and Motherkill; my heart being sundry times tendered under the divine influence, and enlarged in love toward the people amongst whom we travelled.

From Motherkill, we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to friends at Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there and at Marshy Creek.

At these, our three last meetings, were a considerable number of people, followers of one Joseph Nichols, a preacher; who, I understand, is not in outward fellowship with any religious society of people, but professeth nearly the same principles as our society doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard some friends speaking of some of their neighbours, who had been irreligious people, that w

now his followers, and were become sober, well-behaved men and women.

Some irregularities, I hear, have been amongst the people at several of his meetings ; but from the whole of what I had perceived, I believe the man and some of his followers, are honestly disposed, but that skilful fathers are wanting among them. From hence we went to Choptank and Third Haven ; and thence to Queen Anne's. The weather having some days past been hot and dry, and we to attend meetings pursuant to appointment, having travelled pretty steadily, and had hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly ; at which I was for a time discouraged ; but looking over our journey, and thinking how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we got forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I now saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get soon through the journey, and that this bodily weakness now attending me was a kindness to me ; and then, in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father, for this manifestation of his love ; and in humble submission to his will, my trust was renewed in Him.

On this part of our journey, I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by many friends, who were convinced of our principles in England in times of sufferings, and coming over, bow

ands of the natives, and applied themselves to husbandry in a peaceable way ; and many of their children were taught to labour for their living.

Few friends, I believe, came from England to settle in any of these southern provinces ; but, by the faithful labours of travelling friends in early times, there were considerable convincements amongst the inhabitants of these parts. Here I remembered my reading of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in those provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was shed, even in the infancy of those colonies. These people, inhabiting those places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure truth, when some of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life, and joined in fellowship with our society, they had a great work to go through. It is observable, in the History of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progress from age to age : the uprightness of the first reformers, in attending to the light and understanding given them, opened the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed farther afterward ; and thus, each one truly fearing God, and labouring in those works of righteousness appointed for him in his day, findeth acceptance with him : though, through the darkness of the times, and the corruption of manners and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it relat

to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that, which the same principle would lead succeeding ages into. Thus, for instance, amongst an imperious warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters, I suppose, are awakened to feel and see their error; and, through sincere repentance, cease from oppression, and become like fathers to their servants; shewing, by their example, a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition of their oppressing neighbours; these, without carrying the reformation farther, I believe, have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and those who succeeded them, and have faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding forward, have not only to instruct others, by their example, in governing well, but also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord (whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed) is graciously moving on the hearts of the people, to draw them off from the desire of wealth, and bring them into such an *humble, lowly way of living*, that they may see *their way* clearly, to repair to the standard of true *righteousness*; and not only break the yoke

oppression, but know Him to be their strength and support in time of outward affliction.

We, passing on, crossed Chester River ; and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Sassafras. Through my bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, it was to me an humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed ; yet I often thought, that what I suffered was little, compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus, and many of his faithful followers ; and may say with thankfulness, I was made content.

From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well ; and for several weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey ; and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in those southern provinces for Christ's sake than we had ; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity, according to the understanding and strength given me.

On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month, 1766, with the unity of friends at our monthly meeting, in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a visit to friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawing of love in my heart that way a considerable time. We travelled as far as Hardwick, and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongst them.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the difficulties of friends and their servants south-westward ; and being often engaged in spirit on their account, I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the western shore of Maryland, on a religious visit. And having obtained a certificate from friends of our monthly meeting, I took my leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of truth ; and on the twentieth day of the fourth month, 1767, I rode to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's, at Derby, that evening ; and next day pursued my journey alone, and reached Concord weekday meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress had, at times, attended me in this lonesome walk, through which afflictions, I was mercifully preserved. And now sitting down with friends, my mind was turned towards the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings, who in infinite love was pleased to soften my heart into humble contrition, and did renewedly strengthen me to go forward, that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting.

The next day I came to New Garden week-day meeting, in which I sat with bowedness of spirit ; *and being baptized into a feeling of the state of some present*, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering season ; to his name be the praise.

I passed on, and was at Nottingham month meeting ; and at a meeting at Little Britain on

day; and in the afternoon several friends came to the house where I lodged, and we had a little afternoon meeting; and through the humbling power of truth, I had to admire the loving kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

On the twenty-sixth day, I crossed the Susquehanna, and coming amongst people in outward ease and greatness, supported chiefly on the labour of slaves, my heart was much affected; and in awful retiredness, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true resignation I might receive instruction from Him, respecting my duty amongst this people.

Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body, yet thus travelling was agreeable to the state of my mind.

I went gently on, being weakly, and was covered with sorrow and heaviness, on account of the spreading, prevailing spirit of this world, introducing customs grievous and oppressive on one hand, and cherishing pride and wantonness on the other. In this lonely walk, and state of abasement and humiliation, the state of the church in these parts was opened before me; and I may truly say with the prophet, "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it." Under this exercise, I attended the quarterly meeting at Gunpowder; and in bowedness of spirit, I had to open, with much plainness, what I felt respecting friendship in fulness, on the labours of the poor oppressed negroes; and that promise of the

High was now revived: "I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory."—Here the sufferings of Christ, and his tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings, and martyrdoms, of the apostles and primitive Christians, in labouring for the conversion of the Gentiles, was livingly revived in me; and, according to the measure of strength afforded, I laboured in some tenderness of Spirit, being deeply affected amongst them: and thus the difference, between the present treatment which these Gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive Christians for the conversion of the Gentiles, were pressed home, and the power of truth came over us; under a feeling of which my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in those parts; and the meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness toward his humble dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded, in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as He might be pleased to lead me. And I was mercifully helped to labour honestly and fervently amongst them, in which I found inward peace; and the sincere were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe Creek, and passed on to the Red-Lands; and had several meetings amongst friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a sense of the Lord's goodness, in sanctifying my troubles and

ercises, turning them to my comfort, and, I believe, to the benefit of many others: for, I may say, with thankfulness, that in this visit, it appeared like a fresh tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the western quarterly meeting in Pennsylvania. During the several days of this meeting, I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of truth, and my public labours tended to my humiliation, with which I was content. After the quarterly meeting of worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting of business, which was very full; and here the humility of Jesus Christ, as a pattern for us to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time. From hence I went on, and was at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, and so home, where I found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey, excites reverent thankfulness to Him.

On the second day of the ninth month, 1767, with the unity of friends, I set off on a visit to friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks, and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodness, opened my way amongst friends, and made the meetings (I trust) profitable to us. And the winter following, I joined friends on a visit to friends' families, in some part of

meeting, in which exercise, the pure influence of divine love, made our visits reviving.

On the fifth day of the fifth month, 1768, I left home, under the humbling hand of the Lord, having obtained a certificate, in order to visit some meetings in Maryland; and to proceed without a horse looked clearest to me. I was at the quarterly meetings at Philadelphia and Concord; and then went on to Chester River; and crossing the bay with friends, was at the yearly meeting at West River; thence back to Chester River, and taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting, and as my eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration, when things had appeared very difficult.

In my return, I felt a relief of mind very comfortable to me, having, through divine help, laboured in much plainness, both with friends selected, and in the more public meetings; so that (I trust) the pure witness, in many minds, was reached.

The eleventh day of the sixth month, 1769. Sundry cases have happened of late years, within the limits of our monthly meeting, respecting that of exercising pure righteousness toward the negroes, in which I have lived under a labour of heart, that equity might be steadily kept to. On this account, *I have had some close exercises amongst friends, in which, I may thankfully say, I find peace. And as my meditations have been on universal love, r*

own conduct in time past, became of late very grievous to me.

As persons, setting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them, in case they have need of relief, some, who scrupled keeping slaves for term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service till thirty years of age, without wages, on that account : and with this custom I so far agreed, that I, being joined to another friend, in executing the will of a deceased friend, once sold a negroe lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart, I may now say, that sometimes, as I have sat in a meeting, with my heart exercised toward that awful Being, who respecteth not persons nor colours, and have looked upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind, respecting him: and as I have attended to this exercise, and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me, that I should make some restitution, but in what way I saw not till lately; when, being under some concern that I may be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West-Indies, and under close engagement of spirit, seeking to the Lord for counsel herein, that, of my joining in the sale aforesaid, came heavily upon me; and my mind, for a time, was covered with darkness and sorrow; and under this sore affliction, my heart was softened to receive instruction: and here I first saw, that, as had been one of the two executors, who had

this lad for nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer a part of my substance to redeem the last half of that nine years ; but, as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me and my executors to pay to the man, he was sold to, what, to candid men, might appear equitable for the last four years and a half of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

The ninth day of the tenth month, 1769.—My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling I have had, that the standard of pure righteousness, is not lifted up to the people by us, as a society, in that clearness which it might have been, had we been so faithful to the teachings of Christ, as we ought to have been. And as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been opened in my understanding ; and under this exercise, that of friends being active in civil society, in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteousness, hath, for several years, been an increasing burden upon me, having felt, in the opening of universal love, that where a people convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting laws in execution, which are not consistent with pure wisdom, *it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds ;* and as my heart hath been thus exercised, and a tender sympathy in me toward



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allow members, I have, within a few months past,
n several meetings for dicipline, expressed my con
cern on this subject.

CHAPTER X.

Under some bodily indisposition, his body, by abstinence, much weakened; and his mind, at that time, exercised for the good of the people in the West Indies.—His afterwards communicating to friends his being resigned to visit some of these islands.—The state of his mind, and the close considerations he was led into, while under this exercise.—His preparations to embark, and his considerations on the trade to these islands; and his being, when the vessel was ready to sail, released from the concern he had been under.—His religious engagements after his return home.—His sickness, in which he was brought to a very low state; and the prospects he then had.

THE twelfth day of the third month.—Having for some years past dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my nose, under which diet I grew weak in body, and not of ability to travel by land as heretofore; was at times favoured to look with awfulness toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death; and to feel thankfulness raised in me for this his fatherly chastizement, believing, if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good. While I was under this bodily weakness, my mind being times exercised for my fellow-creature in the W.

Indies, I grew jealous over myself, lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto; for though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect. Feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, I walked one day in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, cries were raised in me to my merciful Father, that He would graciously keep me in faithfulness; and it then settled on my mind, as a duty, to open my condition to friends at our monthly meeting; which I did soon after, as follows:

“An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late been more weighty upon me, under which, I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies.” In the quarterly and general spring meeting, I found no clearness to express any thing further, than that I believed resignation herein was required of me; and having obtained certificates from all the said meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, kept free from worldly encumbrances, and was often bowed in spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to Him, that I *might be rightly directed*. And I may here note *that what I have before related of my being, when young, joined as an executor with another friend in executing the will of the deceased, our*

sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the cause of much sorrow to me; and after having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided a sea-store and bed, and things for the voyage. Hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spake with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went to Philadelphia on purpose to speak with him again; at which time he told me there was a friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel; but I felt no inclination to speak with him, but returned home: and, a while after I took leave of my family; and going to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows:

“On the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month, 1769, as an exercise, with respect to a visit to Barbadoes, hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the feelings which have attended me under these trials, I have at times rejoiced, in that I have felt my own self-will subjected.

“I once, some years ago, retailed rum, sugar, and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves; but then had not much concern about them, save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to as I now believe it ought to have been. Of late years, being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the degrees that are in connexions of rest and fellowship with the works of darkness

Ephes. v. 11. ; and feeling an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, it hath appeared that the small gain I got by this branch of trade should be applied in promoting righteouness on the earth, and with this was the first motion towards a visit to Barbadoes. I believed the outward substance I possess should be applied in paying my passage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose which hath been a continued trial for some months past; under which I have, with abasement of mind, from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction, and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself for that the Lord hid his face from him. During these exercises my heart hath been often contrite, and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures labouring under these expensive customs distinguishable from the simplicity that there is in Christ, 2 Cor. ii. 3. and sometimes in the renewings of gospel love, have been helped to minister to others.

“That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in seeking to the Lord for instruction, is whether, after so full information of the oppression the slaves in the West Indies lie under, who raise the West India produce, as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies written *Anthony Benezet*, it is right for me to take a

sage in a vessel, employed in the West India trade.

“To trade freely with oppressors, and without labouring to dissuade from such unkind treatment, to seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy respecting their conduct than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to by those in general with whom they have commerce ; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, “ They have strengthened the hands of the wicked,” hath very often revived in my mind ; and I may here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years : he longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, at war with Israel ; and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

“ It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather that David gave way to delicacy of taste ; but having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. And the oppression of the slaves, which I have seen *in several journies southward on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, hath deep'y affected me ; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to my fellow-creatures, hath, from time to time*



livingly revived on my mind; and, under this exercise, I, for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

“I do not censure my brethren in these things; but believe the Father of Mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of this oppressed people, and is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition; and the trading in, or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of peace.

“After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord to further open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow Him in such further manifestation.

“The number of those who decline the use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even amongst people truly pious; and the labours in Christian love, on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive.

“Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be quite stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread.

“Did we on this continent and the Inhabitants of the West Indies, generally dwell in pure r

ousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go under ballast, have arisen in my mind, I have believed that the labours in gospel love, yet bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness, are not arrived to that height.

“If the trade to the West Indies were no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage-money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now; and here under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take advantage of this great trade and small passage-money; but, as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time.”

The first mentioned owner having read the paper, expressed a willingness to go with me to the other owner; and we going, the said other owner read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation, under which I felt myself bowed in reverence before the Most High: and at length one of them asked me if I would go and see the vessel. But I had not clearnees in my mind to go; but went to my lodging, and retired in private.

I was now under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries that He would graciously help me under these trials.

In this case I believed my mind was resigned, but did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness, and the necessity of divine instruction, was impressed upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest; under which affliction, the doctrine of Christ, "Take no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me. I remembered it was some days before they expected the vessel to sail, and was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness; and having been near two days in town, I believed my obedience to my heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward; and then I went over amongst friends on the Jersey shore, and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to sail. And as I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation, that it was the Lord's will that I should pass through some further exercises near home.

So I went home, and still felt like a sojourner with my family; and in the fresh spring of pure love, had some labours in a private way amongst friends on a subject relating to truth's testimony, under which I had frequently been exercised in heart for some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh before me: "Withersoever their faces were turned, thither they went." And I was graciously helped to discharge my duty, in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

After a few weeks, it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy ; and after I had lain a few days, and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end.

I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life ; and now I thought, if it was the Lord's will to put an end to my labours, and graciously receive me into the arms of his mercy, death would be acceptable to me ; but if it was his will to further refine me under affliction, and make me in any degree useful in his church, I desired not to die. I may, with thankfulness, say, that in this case I felt resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a doctor ; believing, if it was the Lord's will, through outward means, to raise me up, some sympathizing friends would be sent to minister to me ; who were accordingly : but though I was carefully attended, yet the disorder was at times so heavy, that I had no thoughts of recovery. One night in particular, my bodily distress was great ; my feet grew cold, and cold increased up my legs toward my body ; and at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply any thing warm to my feet, expecting my end was near : and after I had lain near ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body ; but, in these awful moments, my mind was livingly opened to behold the church ; and strong engagements were begotten in me, for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-

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creatures. I felt, in the spring of pure love, that I might remain some time longer in the body, in filling up, according to my measure, that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, and in labouring for the good of the church ; after which, I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet, and I revived. The next night, feeling a weighty exercise of spirit, and having a solid friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said, which he did as follows :

“ Fourth day of the first month, 1770, about five in the morning. I have seen in the Light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is the most wise in human policy shall be the greatest fool ; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces ; the enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another ; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed ; and He commanded me to open the vision.”

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who at my request, wrote as follows :

“ The place of prayer is a precious habitation ; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints were precious incense : and a trumpet was given me, that I might sound forth this language ; that the children might hear it, and be invited together to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints as precious incense, arise before the throne of C

and the Lamb.—I saw this habitation to be safe;—to be inwardly quiet when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

“Prayer, at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place; the trumpet is sounded; the call goes forth to the church, that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe.”

CHAPERT XI.

His preparing to visit friends in England—His embarking at Chester, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ship bound to London—His deep exercise, in observing the difficulties and hardships the common sailors are exposed to—Considerations on the dangers to which youth are exposed, in being trained to a sea-faring life; and its inconsistency with a pious education—His thoughts in a storm at sea: with many instructive contemplations on the voyage—His arrival at London.

HAVING been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire; after weighty consideration, I thought it expedient to inform friends, at our monthly-meeting at Burlington, of it; who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate; and I afterward communicated the same to our quarterly-meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence therewith. Some time after which, at the general spring-meeting of ministers and elders, *I thought it my duty to acquaint them of the religious exercise which attended my mind; with which they likewise signified their unity by a certificate*

dated the twenty-fourth day of the third month, 1772, directed to friends in Great-Britain.

In the fourth month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some enquiry for a suitable conveyance ; being apprehensive that, as my concern was principally towards the northern parts of England, it would be most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven : and, while I was at Philadelphia, deliberating on this occasion, I was informed, that my beloved friend, Samuel Emlen jun. intended to go to London, and had taken a passage for himself in the cabin of the ship, called Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head, of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners ; and I feeling a draught in my mind towards the steerage of the same ship, went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage ; and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin, a commodious room, and then into the steerage ; where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us : then the owner of the ship came, and sat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Christ, the heavenly counsellor ; and I feeling, at this time, my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before him.

A motion was made, by the owner, to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired ; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and made no agreement as to a passage in her ; but told the owner, if I took a passage in the ship, I believed it would be in the steerage ; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a passage in the steerage ; which, for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord ; whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and his love strengthened my heart. In the morning I went with two friends on board the vessel again ; and, after a short time spent therein, I went, with Samuel Emlen, to the house of the owner ; to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exercise, in substance as follows, in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin.

I told the owner that on the outside of that part of the ship, where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery ; and that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts ; and that according to the ways of *men's reckoning*, the sum of money to be paid for a *passage in that apartment*, hath some relation to *the expense in furnishing it to please the minds*

such as gave way to a conformity to this world; and that in this case, as in other cases, the monies received from the passengers are calculated to answer every expense relating to their passage, and amongst the rest, of the superfluities; and that in that case, I felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to defray such expenses.

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner, that I had, at several times in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent at which my heart had been much affected, and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers, and having many times been engaged, in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted; I have often perceived, that a view to get riches, and provide estates for children, to live conformable to customs, which stand in that spirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world—that in the pursuit of these things, I had seen many entangled in the spirit of oppression; and the exercise of my soul had been such, that I could not find peace, in joining in any thing which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and, hearing in town that Joseph White had a desire to see me, I felt the reviving of a desire to see *him*, and went then to his house, and next day *home*; where I tarried two nights: and then, *early in the morning*, I parted with my family, under *sense of the humbling hand of God upon me*; and

going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with several of my beloved friends; who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel where I was likely to lodge.

In these opportunities, my mind through the mercies of the Lord, was kept low, in an inward waiting for his help, and friends having expressed their desire, that I might have a place more convenient than the steerage, did not urge, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having stayed two nights in Philadelphia, I went the next day to Derby monthly-meeting; where, through the strength of divine love, my heart was enlarged toward the youth then present; under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of spirit. Then, lodging at William Horra's, I, with one friend, went to Chester; where, meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on board, the first day of the fifth month, 1772; and, as I sat down alone on a seat on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

Seventh day of the fifth month. We have had rough weather mostly since I came on board; and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bingham, all sea-sick, more or less, at times; from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preserved; my affliction now being of another kind.

There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the the ship and in the cabin passengers toward me: we were often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin.

My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preserved in a good degree, watchful, and inward; and I have, this day great cause to be thankful, in that I remain to feel quietness of mind.

As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling, with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors; an inward exercise of soul hath attended me, in regard to placing out children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord; and I being much amongst the seamen, have from a motion of love, sundry times taken opportunities, with one of them at a time alone, and in a free conversation, laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. And this day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of Divine love.

Now concerning lads being trained up as seamen, I believe a communication from one part of the world to some other parts of it, by sea, is, at times *consistent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe may be right; but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! How impure are the channels through which trade hath a conveyance*

How great is that danger, to which poor lads are now exposed, when placed on ship-board to learn the art of sailing.

Five lads, training up for the seas, were now on board this ship; two of them brought up amongst our society, one of whom hath a right amongst friends, by name James Nailor, to whose Father James Nailor, mentioned in Sewel's history, appears to have been uncle.

I often feel a tenderness of heart towards these poor lads; and, at times, look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh.

O that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! O that all may learn of Christ, who was meek and low of heart! Then, in faithfully following him, He will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without respect to the customs or honours of this world.

Men thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged, and where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the word, these will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time.

Rising to work in the night, is not commonly pleasant in any case; but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable; even though each man were furnished with all conveniences; but if men must go out at midnight to help to manage the ship in

rain, and having small room to sleep and lay their garments in, are often beset to furnish themselves for the watch; their garments or something relating to their business being wanting, and not easily found; when from the urgency occasioned by high winds, they are hastened and called up suddenly, here is a trial of patience on the poor sailors, and the poor lads their companions.

If, after they have been on deck several hours in the night, and come down in the steerage soaking wet, and are so close stowed that proper convenience for change of garments is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments thrown in heaps, and sometimes, through much crowding, are trodden under foot in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and great difficulties, at times, each one to find his own: here are trials on the poor sailors.

Now, as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them, and tender desires have been raised in me, that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and, by seeking less for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, either to fret or use excess of *strong drink*; for, indeed, the poor creatures, at times, in the wet and cold, seem to apply to strong drink to supply the want of other convenience.

Great reformation in the world is wanting, and the necessity of it, amongst these who do business

on great waters, hath, at this time, been abundantly opened before me.

The eighth day of the fifth month.—This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from the south-eastward, and, before noon, increased to that degree that sailing appeared dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails, and took down some; and the storm increasing, they put the dead lights so called, into the cabin-windows, and lighted a lamp as at night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to that degree, that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent I believe, about seventeen hours, for I believed the poor wet toiling seamen, had need of all the room in the crowded steerage, and the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceased now from sailing, and put the vessel in the posture called lying-to.

My mind, in this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and I felt, at times, a few words in his love to my shipmates, in regard to the all-sufficiency of him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive, that a sparrow falls not without his notice; and thus, in a tender frame of mind, spoke to them of the necessity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the instructions of our heavenly Father, who sometimes, through adversities, intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night, I went out on the d

when the sea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves, all round about, had, in some sort, the appearance of fire, but did not give much, if any, light.

The sailor, then at the helm, said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast.

About this time, I observed the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck, and though he said little, I apprehended his care was that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of any extremity.

Soon after this the vehemency of the wind abated, and before morning, they again put the ship under sail.

The tenth day of the month, and first of the week, it being fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which most of the seamen were present; this meeting to me was a strengthening time.

The thirteenth day of the month.—As I continue to lodge in the steerage, I feel an openness this morning, to express something further of the state of my mind, in respect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing. As I believe sailing is of some use in the world, a labour of soul attends me, that the pure counsel of truth may be humbly *waited for* in this case, by all concerned in the *business of the seas*.

A pious father, whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not, with peaceable mind, place him out to an employer

amongst a people, whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. So great is the present defect amongst sea-faring men, in regard to piety and virtue; and through an abundant traffic, and many ships of war, so many people are employed on the sea, that this subject of placing lads to the employment appears very weighty.

Profane examples are very corrupting, and very forcible. And as my mind, day after day, and night after night, hath been affected with a sympathizing tenderness toward poor children, put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and more and more so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds have appeared to be so deeply impressed with that almost universal depravity amongst sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me on this subject, have revived in my remembrance, that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Now under this exercise, a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us, hath felt grievous; and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ, hath been raised in me; that all may take heed, lest through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with respect to a faithful labour for a reformation. Silence, as to every motion proceeding from

love of money, and an humble waiting upon God, to know his will concerning us, hath now appeared necessary. He alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so direct us in our outward employments, that pure universal love, may shine forth in our proceedings.

Desires arising from the spirit of truth, are pure desires, and when a mind divinely opened toward a young generation, is made sensible of corrupting examples, powerfully working, and extensively spreading amongst them, how moving is the prospect.

A great trade to the coast of Africa for slaves, of which I now heard frequent conversation amongst the sailors!

A great trade in that which is raised and prepared through grievous oppression!

A great trade in superfluity of workmanship, formed to please the pride and vanity of people's minds!

Great and extensive is that depravity which prevails amongst the poor sailors!

When I remember that saying of the Most High, through his prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise:" and think of placing children amongst them, to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education, seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a sea

late thorny wilderness, how precious! how comfortable! how safe! are the leadings of Christ the good shepherd, who said, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine."

The sixteenth day of the month.—Wind for several days past, often high, what the sailors call squally, rough sea, and frequent rains. This last night a very trying night to the poor seamen; the water, chief part of the night, running over the main deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of divine love; and resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas, renewedly wrought in me, whose fatherly care over his children felt precious to my soul; and desires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow creatures, and to labour in his love for the spreading of pure universal righteousness on the earth. The opportunities being frequent of hearing conversation amongst the sailors, in respect to the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our island; and thoughts of their condition frequently in chains and fetters on board the vessels, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehensions of miserable slavery;—My mind was frequently opened to meditate on these things.

On the seventeenth day of the month, and first week, we had a meeting in the cabin: to wit

the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord ; whose love, at this time, affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of soul, with my poor wife and family left behind ; in which state my heart was enlarged in desires, that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support through all the difficulties in this world ; and a sense of that gracious assistance through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them, to travel in the love of truth, hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

On the twenty-fourth day of the month, and first of the week, a clear pleasant morning : and as I sat on deck, I felt a reviving in my nature, which, through much rainy weather and high winds, being shut up in a close unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing difficult ; that a little after the rising of the second watch (which is about midnight) I got up, and stood, I believe, near an hour, with my face near the hatch-way, to get the fresh air at the small vacancy under the hatch door ; which is commonly shut down, *partly to keep out rain, and sometimes to keep the breaking-waves from dashing into the steerage.*

I may, with thankfulness to the Father of mercies, acknowledge, that, in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear the affliction with patience ; and I have looked at the pres



dispensation as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel that, which many thousands of my fellow-creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the fountain of comfort, whose inward help hath supplied, at times, the want of outward convenience: and strong desires have attended me, that his family, who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money, and from that spirit in which men seek honour one of another, that in all business, by sea or land, we may constantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven; and, by faithfully following this safe guide, shew forth examples, tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabin, in which I was favoured in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet—"The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress;" for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before Him.

The twenty-eighth day of the month.—Wet weather of late, small winds inclining to calms. Our seamen have cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathom, but find no bottom. Foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindness of the great Preser-

men, my mind remains quiet ; and a deg exercise from day to day attends me, that the peaceable government of Christ may spread prevail amongst mankind.

The leading on of a young generation : pure way, in which the wisdom of this world no place ; where parents and tutors, humbly ing for the heavenly Counsellor, may example in the truth, as it is in Jesus ;—this, for days, hath been the exercise of my mind. C safe, how quiet is that state, where the soul in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, watchful care is maintained, not to follow the of the stranger !

Here Christ is felt to be our Shepherd ; and His leading, people are brought to a stability where He doth not lead forward, we are bound the bonds of pure love, to stand still and wait Him. In the love of money, and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the use of affairs push forward ; nor can the mind, state, discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifested in gracious ling us to come out of that which stands in sion : but, if we bow not in the name of Jesus we give not up those prospects of gain, where the wisdom of this world, are open before say, in our hearts, I must needs go on, and ing on, I hope to keep as near to the puri

mind remains entangled, and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed.

This query opens in my mind in the love of Christ: Where shall a pious father place his son apprentice, to be instructed in the practice of crossing the seas; and have faith to believe that Christ, our holy Shepherd, leads him to place his son there?

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be instructed, and led safely on through the great difficulties and perplexities in this present age.

In an entire subjection of our wills the Lord graciously opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wisdom; and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation, as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy garment: in Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation, a red heifer, without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain, and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times toward the tabernacle of the congregation; then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, was to be burnt without the camp; and of her ashes the water was prepared.

Thus the crucifying the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind, which is death.

"He who toucheth the dead body of a man and purifieth not himself with the water of se

tion, he defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean." Numb. xix. 13.

If any, through the love of gain, go forth into business, wherein they dwell as amongst the tombs, and touch the bodies of those who are dead; if these, through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the divine leader;—here is the judgment of this world;—here the prince of this world is cast out.

The water of separation is felt; and, though we have been amongst the slain, and, through the desire of gain, have touched the dead body of a man, yet, in the purifying love of Christ, we are washed in the water of separation; are brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship, which was not agreeable to his holy will. And I have felt a renewed confirmation, in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his visited children, so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that his Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the substance pointed at in this figure man must know death, as to his own will.

"No man can see God and live." This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet, and opened by our blessed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills, and new life formed in us, the heart is purified, and prepared

understand clearly. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart, the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of universal righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. "No man hath seen the Father save he that is of God; he hath seen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and in this natural activity, business is proposed, and a will in us to go forward in it. And as long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction against the clearness of divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our strength, then, in this love, we love our neighbours as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people for whom Christ died, even such who as to outward circumstances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. Who is my neighbour? See this question answered by our Saviour, Luke x. 30.

In this love we can say that Jesus is the Lord; and the reformation in our souls, manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God, 2 Cor. v. 18.; in this the desire of gain is subjected.

When employment is honestly followed in the light of truth, and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."—Rom. xii. 11, here the name is opened: "This is the name by which he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."—Jer. xxiii. 6.

how precious is this nation! It is as like gold poured out. The chests, bins, sheaves, in law the Redeemer, and for promoting his glorious kingdom in the world, are content to endure men like good soldiers, and are so separated from the desire of riches, that in the poyments they become extremely careful to give offence neither to Jews nor Heathen, the Church of Christ.

On the thirty-first day of the month, and the week, we had a meeting in the cabin, with all the ship's company, the whole being near. In this meeting the Lord, in mercy, favoured with the extending of his love.

The second day of the sixth month.—Last night the schmen fouled bottom at about 15 fathoms.

This morning, fair wind and pleasant. I sat on deck, my heart was overcome with love of Christ, and melted into contrition. him; and, in this state, the prospect of that to which I have felt my mind drawn when native land, being in some degree opened me, I felt like a little child, and my cries put up to my heavenly Father for preservation in an humble dependence on Him, my soul strengthened in his love, and kept inwardly *ing for his counsel*.

This afternoon, we saw that part of called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea-store; I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a considerable number with sickness, at different times. I observed the cocks crew coming down the Delaware, and while we were near the land; but afterward, I think, I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the land in England, when they again crowed a few times.

- In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the fountain of goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to that of caring for the sparrows; and believe, where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness toward all creatures made subject to us will be experienced; and a care felt in us, that we do not lessen that sweetness of life, in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

The fourth day of the month.—Wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of danger of missing the channel, which I understood was narrow. In a while, it grew lighter; and they saw the land, and they knew where we were. Thus the Father of mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers; and then graciously, from time to time, deliver from the

CHAPTER XII.

His attending the yearly-meeting in London ; and after it, proceeding towards Yorkshire, visiting several quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York. and Westmoreland ; and thence again into Yorkshire, and to the city of York ; with some instructive thoughts and observations, and letters on divers subjects—His hearing of the decease of William Hunt ; and some account of him—His sickness at York ; and end of his pilgrimage there.

ON the eighth day of the sixth month, 1772, we landed at London, and I went straightway to the yearly meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered (I suppose) about half an hour.

In this meeting, my mind was humbly contrite. In the afternoon, the meeting for business opened, which by adjournments, held near a week. In these meetings, I often felt a living concern for the establishment of friends in the pure life of truth. And my heart was enlarged in the meeting of ministers, meeting of business, and in several meetings for public worship ; and I felt my mind united in true love, to the faithful labourers now gathered, his yearly-meeting.

On the fifteenth day of the month, I left London, and went to a quartely meeting at Hertford.

The first day of the seventh month.—I have been at quarterly meetings at Shirrington, Northampton, Banbury, and Shipston; and had sundry meetings between. My mind hath been bowed under a sense of divine goodness manifested amongst us: my heart hath been often enlarged in true love, both amongst ministers and elders, and in public meetings; that through the Lord's goodness, I believe it hath been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth.

The seventeenth day of the month.—Was this day at Birmingham: have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places, have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; and through his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

The twenty-sixth day of the month.—I have continued travelling northward, visiting meetings. Was this day at Nottingham, which in the forenoon especially, was through divine love, a heart-tendering season. Next day had a meeting in a friend's house with friends' children and some friends; this, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

The second day of the eighth month, and first of the week, was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town. Have been at sundry meetings last week and feel inward thankfulness for that divine effort, which hath been graciously extended to

the ninth day of the month, and first of the
 was at Rushworth: have lately passed
 through some painful labour; but have been com-
 mended, under a sense of that divine visitation, which
 hath extended toward many young people.
 The sixteenth day of the month, and first of the
 week, was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of
 upward poverty; under which, my mind hath been
 reserved in a watchful tender state, feeling for the
 mind of the holy Leader, and find peace in the
 labours I have passed through.

On inquiry, in many places, I find the price of
 rye about five shillings, wheat about eight shillings,
 per bushel; oatmeal twelve shillings for a hundred
 and twenty pounds; mutton from threepence to
 fivepence per pound; bacon from sevenpence to
 ninepence; cheese from fourpence to sixpence;
 butter from eightpence to tenpence; house-rent,
 for a poor man, from twenty-five shillings to forty
 shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for
 fire very scarce and dear; coal in some places, two
 shillings and sixpence per hundred weight; but
 near the pits not a quarter so much. O may the
 wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men, in several counties
 toward London, is tenpence per day in common
 business, the employer finds small beer, and the la-
 bourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay
 time, wages are about one shilling per day, and the
 labourer hath all his diet. In some parts of
 north of England, poor labouring men have

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ther better than nearer London. Industrious wo-
en, who spin in the factories get some fourpence,
me fivepence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine
tenpence per day, and find their own house-room
and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly
bread and water, in the southern parts of Eng-
nd, and some in the northern parts; and there
e many poor children not taught even to read.
ay those who have plenty, lay these things to
art!

Stage coaches frequently go upwards of an hun-
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rses to be killed with hard driving, and many
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Postboys pursue their business, each one to his
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Stage coaches frequently go upwards of an hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard friends say, in several places, that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and many others driven till they grow blind.

Postboys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter. Some boys, who ride long stages, suffer greatly on winter nights, and at several places, I have heard of their being frozen to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quickly, and to gain wealth, the creation, at this day, doth loudly groan!

As my journey hath been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in these stage coaches, but have not been in them: nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts, in the present way of their riding; the stage being so fixed, and one boy dependent on another to time, that they commonly go upwards of

Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry youth, and his labours therein were of good. He travelled much in that work in America. He heard him say in public testimony, that his was (in that visit) to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully, that he might not spend one in pleasing himself; which words joined with example, was a means of stirring up the people in me.

On this visit to England, I have felt instructions sealed on my mind, which I am obliged to leave in writing, for the use of such as called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of peace, and we no more than ministers, I find it necessary not only to feel a concern in our first goal, but to experience the renewing thereof in pointment of meetings.

I felt a concern in America, to prepare voyage; and being through the mercies brought safe here, my heart was like it

wanted vent; and for several weeks at my mouth was opened in meetings, like the raising of a gate in a water course, weight of water lay upon it, and in these there appeared a fresh visitation to mankind, especially the youth: but sometimes after

empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to meetings.

In this state I was exercised to abide a life of truth, and in all my labours to

gently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the divine leader, under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of truth hath risen higher in some meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America, to come on a visit to England; but upon the fresh instructions of Christ, the Prince of peace, from day to day.

Now of late, I felt a stop in the appointment of meetings not wholly, but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quick one after another as I have heretofore.

The work of the ministry, being a work of divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments.

Oh how deep is divine wisdom! Christ puts forth his ministers, and goeth before them; and oh how great is the danger of departing from the pure *feeling of that which leadeth safely!*

Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in

asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to his will, who gave him life, and whose power he hath witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death: and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him: but a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day, and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other friends about him, and if any thing should be proposed as to medicine, that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

Second day.—He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little, and but as a child; and desired, if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against.

Third day.—He uttered the following prayer: "O Lord, my God, the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round

about, and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent; that I had called thee Father; and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me; I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, "Thy will, O Father, be done!"

Fourth-day morning, being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, I don't know that I have slept this night; I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace. Some time after, he said he was sensible the pains of death must be hard to bear but if he escaped them now, he must sometime pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the divine protection; adding, "though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." And a little after said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; for if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder, but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night a young woman having given

little strength be dissolved, and if it so happens, I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time, he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and can work as He sees best." The same day he had given directions about wrapping his corpse; perceiving a friend to weep, he said, "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over and matters well settled, and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is his voice, and his countenance is comely."

First-day, fourth of the tenth month, being very weak, and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness; and added, "How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say, in Job's words, 'Tedious days and wearisome nights are appointed unto me;' and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them; and their distresses, at such a time as this, *in some degree softened by the administering suitable things.*"

Second-day morning, the apothecary who appeared very anxious to assist him, being present, was quieried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body, and the apothecary

making some remarks implying he thought it might ; he spoke with an audible voice on this wise, " My dependance is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for, and if it be his will to raise up this body again, I am content ; and if to die, I am resigned ; and if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit." After which his throat was so much affected, that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the second hour on the fourth-day morning, he asked for pen and ink, and at several times, with much difficulty, wrote thus : " I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ ; I know not as to life or death."

About a quarter before six the same morning he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan, or struggle.

END OF THE JOURNAL.





EXTRACTS

FROM THE

WRITINGS OF JOHN WOOLMAN.

Considerations On pure Wisdom, and Human Policy.

“The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy, and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.”—
JAMES iii. 17.

To have our trust settled in the Lord, and not to seek after, nor desire outward treasures, any further than his Holy Spirit leads us therein, is a happy state, as saith the prophet, “Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is.”

Pure wisdom leads people into lowliness of mind, in which they learn resignation to the divine will, and contentment in suffering for his cause, when they cannot keep a clear conscience without suffering.

In this pure wisdom the mind is attentive to the root, and original spring of motions and desires, and as we know “the Lord to be our refuge,”

EXTRACTS FROM

safety, but in humbly walking before -
an holy engagement, that every desire
leads therefrom may be brought to judg-

we proceed in this precious way, and find
at longings for a full deliverance from every
g which defiles; all prospects of gain, that are
consistent with the wisdom from above, are con-
sidered as snares, and an inward concern is felt, that
we may live under the cross, and faithfully attend
to that Holy Spirit, which is sufficient to preserve
out of them.

When I have considered that saying of Christ,
Mat. vi. 19, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures
upon earth;" his omnipotence hath often occurred
to my mind.

While we believe that He is every where present
with his people, and, that perfect goodness, wisdom
and power, are united in Him, how comfortable is
the consideration.

Our wants may be great, but His power is great-
er. We may be oppressed and despised, but He is
able to turn our patient sufferings into profit to our
selves, and to the advancement of his work,
earth. His people, who feel the power of his cro-
ss, all that is selfish in them; who are
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As the heart, truly contrite, earnestly desires "to know Christ, and the fellowship of his sufferings," Phil. iii. 10. so far as the Lord for gracious ends may lead into them; as such, feel that it is their interest to put their trust in God, and to seek no gain but that which he, by his Holy Spirit, leads into; so, on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this divine teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their measure, "to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ," Col. i. 24, in patiently suffering for the promoting of righteousness in the earth; but have an eye towards the power of men, and the outward advantage of wealth, these are often attentive to those employments which appear profitable, even though the gains arise from such trade and business which proceeds from the workings of that spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying life of an humble, contrite Christian.

While I write on this subject, I feel my mind tenderly affected towards those honestly disposed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with those difficulties.

To such I may say, in the feeling of our heavenly Father's love, and number myself with you, O that your eyes may be single to the Lord! May we reverently wait on him for strength, to lay aside all unnecessary expense of every kind, and learn contentment in a plain, simple life.

May we, in lowliness, submit to the leadings of spirit, and enter upon any outward employment which He graciously points out to us, and

whatever difficulties arise, in consequence of our faithfulness, I trust they will work for our good.

Small treasure to a resigned mind is sufficient. How happy is it to be content with a little, in humility, and feel that in us, which breatheth this language, Abba! Father.

If that, called the wisdom of this world, had the resemblance to true wisdom, the name of wisdom I suppose had not been given to it.

As wasting outward substance, to gratify carnal desires, on one hand; so slothfulness and idleness on the other, do often involve men and their families in trouble, and reduce them to want and distress; to shun both these opposite vices is wisdom in itself, and hath a resemblance to wisdom. While people, thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches and power, and the friendship of this world, and do not humbly wait for the spirit of truth to lead them in purity through an anxious care to obtain the end, and reach forth for gain in worldly wisdom, and regard to their inward state, fall into divers temptations and snares. And though such may be applying wealth to good purposes, and use their power to prevent oppression, yet weakness and power are often applied otherwise; nor do they depart from the leadings of our holy spirit without going into confusion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with temptations, which nothing but divine love can qualify us to use rightly; and, as to the humility,

ness of our children after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold on the wisdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of truth, and example our children herein, we have great cause to apprehend, that wealth may be a snare to them; and prove an injury to others, over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wisdom which is from beneath, and walk in the light of the Lord, is a precious situation; thus his people are brought to put their trust in Him; and, in this humble confidence in his wisdom, goodness, and power, the righteous find a refuge in adversities, superior to the greatest outward helps, and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantages can afford.

On Schools.

"Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God," Mark x. 14.

To encourage children to do things with a view to get praise of men, to me appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the spirit of truth. For it is the work of the Holy Spirit to direct the mind to God, that in all our proceeding we may have a single eye to him. To give alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to

very early, and to humbly wait for wisdom
our conduct toward them may tend to fo
their acquaintance with it, and strengthen th
obedience thereto, appears to me to be a d
all of us.

By cherishing the spirit of pride, and the
praise in them, I believe they may sometin
prove faster in learning, than otherwise
would, but to take measures to forward child
learning, which naturally tend to divert their
from true humility, appears to me to savour
wisdom of this world.

If tutors are not acquainted with sanctifi
of spirit, nor experienced in an humble wait
the leadings of truth, but follow the maxims
wisdom of this world, such children who are
their tuition, appear to me to be in danger o
bing thoughts, and apprehensions, reverse
meekness, and lowliness of heart, which is ne
for all the true followers of Christ.

*Children at an age fit for schools, are in
of life which requires the patient attention o
people, and if we commit them to the to
such, whose minds we believe are not rig
pared to "train them up in the nurture"*

the part of faithful parents toward them; for our heavenly father doth not require us to do evil, that good may come of it; and it is needful that we deeply examine ourselves, lest we get entangled in the wisdom of this world, and through wrong apprehensions, take such methods in education, as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children.

It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children! and when they are sent to such schools where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led astray by tutors, who do not live a self-denying life, or by the conversation of such children who do not live in innocence, it is a case much to be lamented.

While a pious tutor hath the charge of no more children than he can take due care of and keeps his authority in the truth, the good spirit in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of such who are not hardened, and his labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their understandings with respect to the true christian life; but where a person hath charge of too many, and his thoughts and time are so much employed in the outward affairs of his school, that he does not so weightily attend to the spirit and conduct of each individual, as to be enabled to administer rightly to all in due season; through such omission *he not only suffers, as to the state of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of suffering also.*

To watch the spirit of children, to nurture

in gospel love, and labour to help them against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them and a faithful performance of our duty, not only tends to their lasting benefit, and our own peace, but also to render their company agreeable to us.

Instruction thus administered, reaches the pure witness in the minds of such children who are not hardened, and begets love in them toward those who thus lead them on; but where too great a number are committed to a tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of children, there is danger of disorders gradually increasing amongst them, till the effects thereof appear in their conduct, too strong to be easily remedied.

A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents, at home, and by tutors, at school, in weightily attending to the spirit and inclinations of children, and that we may so lead, instruct and govern them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our Father, who is in heaven.

On the right use of the Lord's outward gifts.

As our understandings are opened by the pur-
light, we experience that, through an inward

proaching to God, the mind is strengthened in obedience ; and that, by gratifying those desires which are not of his begetting, those approaches to Him are obstructed, and the deceivable spirit gains strength.

These truths, being as it were engraven upon our hearts, and our everlasting interest in Christ evidently concerned herein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nourished which tends to feed pride or self-love in us. Thus, in pure obedience, we are not only instructed in our duty to God, but also in the affairs which necessarily relate to this life, and the Spirit of truth, which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that whatsoever we do in word or deed, may be done in his name. Col. iii. 17.

Hence, such buildings, furniture, food, and raiment, as best answer our necessities, and are the least likely to feed that selfish spirit which is our enemy, are the most acceptable to us.

In this state the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any business, which may weaken our love to our heavenly Father, or bring unnecessary trouble to any of his creatures.

Thus the way gradually opens to cease from that spirit which craves riches and things fetched far, *which so mixeth with the customs of this world, and so intrudes upon the true harmony of life, the right medium of labour is very much departed from.* And as the minds of people are settled

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ward greatness, and leads into worldly wisdom to attain it, and support it, gets possession of the mind.

In beholding the customary departure from the true medium of labour, and that unnecessary toil which many go through, in supporting outward greatness, and procuring delicacies.

In beholding how the true calmness of life is changed into hurry, and that many, by eagerly pursuing outward treasure, are in great danger of withering as to the inward state of the mind.

In meditating on the works of this spirit, and on the desolations it makes amongst the professors of christianity : I may thankfully acknowledge, that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Christ, and an engagement to labour according to the gift bestowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate, way of living . a life, where no unnecessary cares nor expenses, may encumber our minds, nor lessen our ability to do good ; where no desires after riches, or greatness, may lead into hard dealing ; where no connections with worldly-minded men may abate our love to God, nor weaken a true zeal for righteousness : a life, wherein we may diligently labour for resignedness to do, and suffer, whatever our heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling *the world to Himself.*

When the prophet Isaiah had uttered his vision and declared that a time was coming when swords should be beaten into plough-shares,

spears into pruning-hooks, and that nation should not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more ; he immediately directs the minds of people to the divine teacher, in this remarkable language, "O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the lord." Isaiah ii. 5.

To wait for the direction of this light, in all temporal as well as spiritual concerns, appears necessary ; for if in any case we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this Spirit of truth to open our way therein, and, through the love of this world, proceed on, and seek for gain by that business or traffic, which "is not of the father, but of the world," 1 John ii. 16, we fail in our testimony to the purity and peace of his government ; and get into that which is for chastisement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind, it being evident that, a life less humble, less simple and plain, than that which Christ leads his sheep into, does necessarily require a support, which pure wisdom does not provide for ; hence, there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people so zealous of good works, as to have no fellowship with works of darkness," Titus ii. 14. Ephes. v. 11. while we have wants to supply, which have their foundation in custom, and do not come within the meaning of those expressions, "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." *Mat. vi. 32.*

These things which He beholds necessary for his people, He fails not to give them, in his own way

and time; but, as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, so, imaginary wants are different from these things which he knoweth that we have need of.

As my meditations have been on these things, compassion hath filled my heart toward my fellow-creatures, involved in customs, grown up in "the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God," 1 Cor. iii. 19; and, O that the youth may be so thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children, and know Him to be their refuge, their safe unfailing refuge through the various dangers attending this uncertain state of being!

If those whose minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are content with a plain simple way of living, do yet find that to conduct the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceedings, or having fellowship with works of darkness, the most diligent care is necessary.

If customs, distinguishable from universal righteousness, and opposite to the true self-denying life, are now prevalent, and so mixed with trade, and with almost every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of Truth, that we may reasonably hope to walk safely, and support an uniform testimony to the peaceable government of Christ.

If this be the case, how lamentably do they pose themselves to temptations, who give

the love of riches, conform to expensive living; and reach forth for gain to support customs, which our holy Shepherd leads not into.

On serving the Lord in our outward employments.

UNDER the humbling dispensations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow creatures, and a concern that the holy spirit, which alone can restore mankind to a state of true harmony, may with singleness of heart, be waited for and followed.

I trust there are many under that visitation, which, if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify with firmness to be true patterns of the christian life, who in living and walking may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the spirit of this world.

And that which I feel first to express is a care for those who are in circumstances which appear difficult, with respect to supporting their families in a way answerable to pure wisdom, that they may not be discouraged, but remember that, in humbly obeying the leading of Christ, he owneth us as his friends; "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you;" and to be a friend to Christ is to be united to him who hath all power in heaven and in earth.

and, though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities hath often affected me with a brotherly sympathy, attended with a desire that resignation may be laboured for ; and where the holy leader directeth to a country life or some change of employ, he may be faithfully followed ; for under the refining hand of the Lord I have seen, that the inhabitants of some cities are greatly encreased through some branches of business which his holy spirit doth not lead into, and that being entangled in these things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy leader, and obstructs the coming of the kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven.

Now if we indulge a desire to imitate our neighbours in those things which harmonize not with the true Christian walking, these entanglements may hold fast to us, and some who, in an awakening time, feel tender scruples, with respect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from every degree of dross. By looking on these examples, and desiring to support their families in a way pleasant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wisdom gaining strength in them. *and of their departure from that pure feeling truth, which, if faithfully attended to, would te-*
contentment in the divine will, even in a very
estate.

One formerly speaking on the profitableness of true humility, saith, "He that troubles not himself with anxious thoughts for more than is necessary, lives little less than the life of angels, whilst by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." *Cave's primitive christianity*, page 31.

"It is not enough, says *Tertullian*, that a christian be chaste and modest, but he must appear to be so: a virtue of which he should have so great a store, that it should flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conscience into the superficies of his life." *Ibid* p. 43.

"The garments we wear, says *Clemens*, ought to be mean and frugal: that is true simplicity of habit which takes away what is vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment which is the farthest from curiosity." *Ibid* p. 49.

Though the change from day to night is by a motion so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come, we behold it very different from the day; and thus, as people become wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight, customs rise up from the spirit of this world, and spread, by little and little, till a departure from the simplicity that there is in Christ, becomes as distinguishable as light from darkness, to such as are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd to encourage his flock in firmness and perseverance, reminds them of his love for them, "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love;" and, in a

ther place graciously points out the danger of departing therefrom, by going into unsuitable employments. This he represents in the similitude of offence from that useful, active member, the hand ; and to fix the instruction the deeper, names the right hand : " If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee." If thou seekest offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all truth, and is a strong and faithful friend to those who are resigned to him.

Again, he points out those things which, appearing pleasant to the natural mind, are not best for us, in the similitude of offence from the eye, " If thy right eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or to cut off the hand, is attended with sharp pain ; and how precious is the instruction which our Redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the most painful trials, but put our trust in Him, even in Him who sent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderness, who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever.

The prophet Isaiah represents the unrighteous doings of the Israelites toward the poor as the fruits of an effeminate life, " As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them ; what mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor ? saith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtiness of daughters of Sion, and enumerates many ornar

as instances of their vanity, to uphold which the poor were so hardly dealt with, that he sets forth their poverty, their leanness, and inability to help themselves, in the similitude of a man maimed by violence or "beaten to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

And I may here add that, at times, when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and been engaged in weighty conversation in the cause of righteousness, the instructions I have received under these exercises, in regard to the true use of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and lasting impressions on my mind.

I have here beheld, how the desire to provide wealth, and to uphold a delicate life, hath grievously entangled many, and been like snares to their offspring; and though some have been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and appeared desirous, at times, to be helped out of them; yet, for want of abiding under the humbling power of truth, they have continued in these entanglements; for, in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expensive way of living, in parents and in children, hath called for a large supply, and in answering this call, "the faces of the poor" have been ground away, and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm! there is a physician! and O what longings do I feel, that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing;

moved which now ministers cause for the cries of many people to ascend to heaven against their oppressors; and that we may see the true harmony restored!

Behold "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apostle; "If we walk in the light, as Christ is in the light, we shall have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ will cleanse us from all sin."

The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty; but those who "walk in the light, as Christ is in the light," they know the "Lamb of God, who taketh away sin."

Walking is a phrase frequently used, in scripture, to represent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and transactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Christ being the light, dwells always in the light and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine leader; he preserves from giving just cause for any to quarrel with us. Where this foundation is laid and mutually kept to, by families conversant with each other, the way is open for these comforts in society, which our heavenly father intends as a part of our happiness in this world; and then we may experience the goodness, and pleasantness of dwelling together in unity; but where ways of living, place, which tend to oppression, and in the p

of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them unequitable burdens; here a fear lest that measure should be meted to them, which they have measured to others, incites a care to support that by craft and cunning devices which stands not on the firm foundation of righteousness; thus the harmony of society is broken, and from hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world.

“Come out of Babylon, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins and that ye receive not of her plagues.”—Rev. xv. 3, 4. This Babel, or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation: “Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name.”—Gen. xi. 4. In departing from an humble trust in God, and following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the upper hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to understand! In Babel the language is confounded.

This city is represented as a place of business, and those employed in it as merchants of the earth: “The merchants of the earth are waxed rich, through the abundance of her delicacies.” Rev. xviii. 3.

And it is remarkable, in this call, that the language from the Father of mercies is, “Come out of Babylon, my people!” Thus his te

der mercies are toward us in an imperfect state ; and, as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened ; cravings, which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease ; and, in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Babel, represented by the inspired prophet in the " returning of a pure language." Zeph. iii. 9.

Happy for them who humbly attend to the call, " Come out of Babylon, my people ! " For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful, yet, as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise ; and that in weaning us from all that is selfish, He prepares the way to a quiet habitation, where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. And an exercise of spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of truth, may bow, in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this Leader, that many, who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us and be instructed. And O that such who have plenty of this world's goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true Christian walking !

Our blessed Saviour, speaking on worldly greatness compares himself to one waiting and attending on a company at dinner : " Whether is greater, that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth ? Is not

that sitteth at meat? but I am amongst you as he that serveth." Luke xxii. 27.

Thus in a world greatly disordered, where men aspiring to outward greatness were wont to oppress others to support their designs, he who was of the highest descent being the Son of God, and greater than any amongst the greatest families of men, by his example and doctrines foreclosed his followers from claiming any shew of outward greatness, from any supposed superiority in themselves, or derived from their ancestors.

He who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart; but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every stain of the spirit of this world.

Such was the example of our blessed Redeemer; of whom the beloved disciple said, "He that saith he abideth in him, ought also to walk, even as he walked."

John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom under queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of prison, a short time before he was burnt, in which are these expressions: "Consider your dignity as children of God and temples of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ; be ashamed therefore *to think, speak, or to do any thing, unseemly for God's children and the members of Christ.*" *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, page 1177.

On a Sailor's Life.

In the trade to Africa for slaves, and in the management of ships going on these voyages, many of our lads and young men have a considerable part of their education.

Now, what pious father, beholding his son placed in one of these ships, to learn the practice of a mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where youth are exampled in means of getting money so full of violence, and used to exercise such cruelties on their fellow-creatures, the disadvantage to them, in their education, is very great.

But I feel it in my mind to write concerning the seafaring life in general,

In the trade carried on from the West Indies, and from some parts of the continent, the produce of the labour of slaves is a considerable part.

And sailors who are frequently at ports where slaves abound, and converse often with people who oppress them without the appearance of remorse, and often with sailors employed in the slave trade, how powerfully do these evil examples spread amongst the seafaring youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and understand the general state of the seafaring life amongst us, and my mind hath often been sad on account of so many lads and young men being trained up amidst so great corruption.

Under the humbling power of Christ, I have seen, that if the leadings of his holy spirit were faithful

ly attended to, by his professed followers in general, the heathen nations would be exampled in righteousness. A less number of people would be employed on the seas. The channels of trade would be more free from defilement. Fewer people would be employed in vanities and superfluities.

The inhabitants of cities would be less in number.

They who have much land would become fathers to the poor.

More people would be employed in the sweet employment of husbandry, and in the path of pure wisdom, labour would be an agreeable, healthful employment.

In the opening of these things in my mind, I feel a living concern that we, who have felt divine love in our hearts, may faithfully abide in it, and, like good soldiers, endure hardness for Christ's sake.

He, our blessed Saviour, exhorting his followers to love one another, adds, "As I have loved you." John xiii. 34.

He loved Lazarus, yet in his sickness did not heal him, but left him to endure the pains of death, that, in restoring him to life, the people might be confirmed in the true faith.

He loved his disciples, but sent them forth on a message attended with great difficulty, amongst hard-hearted people, some of whom would think that in killing them they did God service.

So deep is divine love, that in steadfastly abiding in it, we are prepared to deny ourselves of all that gain which is contrary to pure wisdom, and to follow Christ, even under contempt, and through sufferings.

On Silent Worship.

Worship in silence hath often been refreshing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worship.

Great expence ariseth in relation to that which is called divine worship.

A considerable part of this expence is applied toward outward greatness, and many poor people in raising of tithe, labour in supporting customs contrary to the simplicity that is in Christ, toward whom my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure, silent worship, we dwell under the holy anointing, and feel Christ to be our Shepherd.

Here the best of teachers ministers to the several conditions of his flock, and the soul receives, immediately from the divine fountain, that with which it is nourished.

Within the last four hundred years, many pious people have been deeply exercised in soul on account of the superstition which prevailed amongst the professed followers of Christ, and in support of their testimony against oppressive idolotry, some in several ages, have finished their course in flames.

It appears by the history of the reformation, that, through the faithfulness of the martyrs, the understandings of many have been opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, been more and more prepared for a real spiritual worship.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of those people, who, in different ages, have been meek and patient, following Christ through great afflictions : and, while I behold the several steps of reformation, and that clearness to which, through divine goodness, it hath been brought by our ancestors ; I feel tender desires, that we, who sometimes meet in silence, may never, by our conduct, lay stumbling blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progress of the reformation in the world.

It was a complaint against some who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted bread to his altar, and said the table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real silent worship the soul feeds on that which is divine ; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the God of this world.

If Christ is our shepherd, and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the Lord will not be polluted.







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